

A New Frontier

Managing The National Forests In
Alaska , 1970-1995

by Robert D. Baker, Charles W.
Smythe, and Henry C. Dethloff

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INTRODUCTION

In no other Region of the USDA Forest Service are the affairs and resources of the National Forests so intertwined with the daily lives and welfare of the people. The Chugach and Tongass National Forests account for six percent the total land area of Alaska. Within those areas the peoples of Alaska historically depended upon the resources associated with those forested areas for their livelihood. That dependence is still very significant. Regional Forester Michael Barton put it succinctly: "The National Forests are dominant in the lives of the people who live within or adjacent to them." Paul Brewster, Assistant Director of the Division of Recreation, Heritage and Wilderness Management in Region 10, commented in a similar vein: "Nowhere have I been where anything approaches the tie or closeness of the people to the land, as is true in Alaska." The greater dependence of the people on the land and resources of the forests is only one of the many features distinguishing Region 10, Alaska, from the other Forest Service Regions in the United States.

One of the distinctive characteristics of Alaska is that it is considered by many inside and outside of the State to be the nation's last frontier. In the American mind a frontier suggests rugged individualism, nature, wilderness, and opportunity. Alaska is the nation's largest state with the smallest population per square mile. The two National Forests in Alaska, the Tongass and Chugach, are respectively the largest and second largest in the National Forest System. The Tongass, occupying most of the southeastern region of Alaska, contains 16.9 million acres including the Admiralty Island and Misty Fjords National Monuments, and the state capitol, Juneau. The Chugach, with 5.7 million acres, covers much of the southcentral coastal region. It once included the site of the City of Anchorage. The two Alaska forests comprise about ten percent of the total acreage administered by the USDA Forest Service.

Forest management has changed since statehood from a largely custodial/inventory function to an active "conflict management" role involving the allocation of resources among many diverse and changing uses. The social and economic context in which management decisions are made has changed. The legislative guidelines are markedly different. Interestingly, what has changed least in the National Forests are the forests themselves, and the fish and the wildlife, and even the people themselves who live within and adjacent to the forests. Therein lies a good part of the problem of managing finite and renewable resources in times of rapid change.

The National Forests in Alaska are often the focus of a very large and diverse external constituency. They variously champion conservation, environmental, wilderness, wildlife, tourist, timber, mining, fishing, hunting, subsistence, and recreation interests, among others. Much of the history of Alaska has been determined by "outside" influences. As the "last frontier" Alaska represents economic opportunity on the one hand, and a pristine and sensitive environment on the other. Thus, Kimberly Bown, Acting Director of Public Services and formerly Regional Director of Recreation, Heritage and Wilderness Resources, characterizes Region 10 as being "at the cutting edge of political intervention." The Alaska Forests have become the legislative and ideological battleground for clashes between preservation and developmental partisans. These conflicts markedly affect forest resource use and management.

The Alaska National Forests are unique in several respects. They are the home of a very large native American population who have historically subsisted on the resources of the lands in the National Forests and its tributaries and adjoining waters. Moreover, many new non-native communities have been formed who also consider themselves very close to the land and practice a new subsistence lifestyle modelled on that of the older native communities. The interests of the Native Americans and the new subsistence communities affect the allocation and use of National Forest resources in Alaska. The Statehood Act of 1959, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980, the Tongass Timber Reform Act, court cases, and environmental legislation have made it so. This study necessarily focuses on this unique management environment.

Another distinctive characteristic of the Alaska National Forests are that they can best be described as wild, wilderness, or roadless areas. Over one-third of the Tongass National Forest is designated Wilderness or National Monument area. The Chugach National Forest is variously coastal lands and islands, and inland glacier and arctic type tundra. It adjoins the Kenai National Wildlife Refuge administered by the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Chugach State Park administered by the State of Alaska. Large portions of the Chugach and Tongass National Forests are roadless, and generally accessible only by boat, foot, or aircraft. They are, moreover, generally remote from the nation's large metropolitan areas and heavy concentrations of population.

The climate and geography of the Alaska forests are different. The Tongass National Forest is a "rain forest" with average annual rainfall of almost 100 inches. The Tongass is essentially a "marine" forest, a forest on "mountains in the sea" in that its lands are either surrounded by or generally adjoin the sea and inland waterways. The Chugach is geographically two forests, one a "marine" forest, and the other an inland and essentially alpine or near-arctic forest with large areas of ice and tundra. Annual mean temperatures are lower on the two Alaskan forests than other national forest areas. Employment, and activity, tends to be much more seasonal.

The regional economy, until contemporary times, has been heavily extractive and has focused on furs, fishing, mining and timber. Since World War II, government employment, tourism, and petroleum are becoming leading sectors for economic growth. But the traditional industries, and subsistence, account for the occupation and welfare of a large portion of those who live within and adjacent to the National Forests.

Petroleum, which is not produced on any national forest lands, has only since 1970 come to dominate the state's revenues and affects the welfare of all the people—and indirectly the management policies and practices in the National Forests. Because of its petroleum-based revenues, the State of Alaska has created a more substantial infrastructure and bureaucracy, prominently in the areas of forestry, fisheries, wildlife and tourism, which are at once both complimentary to the work of the USDA Forest Service, but also sometimes competitive.

Today, instead of timber and fishing being the leading employers in Alaska, the local, state and federal governments are collectively the largest employers. Many of those state and federal employees, along with the traditional timber, fishing, and mining industries, use resources in the lands and waters related to the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. Subsistence users, including a large portion of the Native Americans and a large population of non-Native Americans, are directly dependent on National Forest resources. The nature and the mix of the uses of forest resources have changed markedly since World War II.

Tourism and recreation are the most rapidly growing sectors of the state economy and are primary uses of National Forest scenic and recreational resources. Recreation

and tourism have, within the past three decades, generated considerable expansion in the retail trades and services industries. Most of the hotel, motel and restaurant accommodations in Alaska were not there two or three decades earlier. A host of cottage industries, ranging from Bed and Breakfast establishments to sport fishing, boating, kayaking, packing, hunting, and wilderness guide and outfitting operations have come into being only within the past twenty-five years. Home-based craft industries, both Native and non-Native, support the burgeoning tourist and recreation sectors of the Alaska economy. All of these things comprise what is now collectively referred to as the "visitor industry." The National Forests are critical to the developing visitor industry and it with the more traditional timber, fishing and mining industries, affect management decisions and the administration of the National Forests.

Until 1960 professional foresters in the USDA Forest Service were almost exclusively responsible for forest management policies and resource utilization. Each Region exercised considerable autonomy. "Although the Forest Service had a unified and dynamic national program, it early delegated most administrative authority for the Alaska program to the Regional Forester." Within each Region Forest Supervisors and their staff were responsible for the implementation of rather broadly constructed policies and guidelines. District Rangers frequently had almost exclusive jurisdiction and exercised considerable license in the management of the Ranger District. In recent times management policies have become more narrowly defined. Management decisions increasingly have been elevated from the District to the Forest, and from the Forest to the Region, from the Region to the Chief, and from the Chief, USDA Forest Service to the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, then to Congress and the courts.

In 1954, the Forest Service began operating under the first of several "long-term" timber contracts, in part as a mechanism to assure the survival and welfare of Alaska communities whose traditional dependence on fishing was being threatened by declining harvests and foreign competition. These contracts have been significant factors in the regional economy and continue to affect management decisions in the Region. Beginning in 1959, a number of important developments wholly external to the National Forests, began to impact upon the long-term timber contracts, the use of forest resources, and the very nature of

forest management and planning. The long-term timber contracts are a continuing part of this study of forest resource management.

Awarded statehood only in 1959, the State of Alaska has since that time increasingly influenced the determination of National Forest management policies. Alaska statehood, which coincided with the beginning of a new era of Congressional mandates affecting forest management, precipitated almost revolutionary changes in the way Alaska forest resources were used and administered. The state obtained rights to 103 million acres of federal land, including 400,000 acres of land formerly a part of the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. The state assumed control over wildlife management on the National Forests, entered into cooperative agreements with the Forest Service, and developed a governmental infrastructure that both cooperated and conflicted with federal management systems.

The Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act approved by Congress in 1960 required that forest managers must sustain renewable resources and make just or equitable allocations of the use of forest resources among the diverse users including timber, recreation, camping, hunting, grazing, fishing or other uses. The Wilderness Act of 1964 mandated the designation of appropriate portions of National Forests as Wilderness areas where humans should leave no permanent imprint of their passage. The National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (1968) supplemented the Wilderness Act by requiring that certain (to be) designated rivers remain in their "free-flowing" natural state.

Finally, in 1969, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) required the Forest Service to assess potential damage or change to the forest environment that might be caused by any significant federal actions such as road building, timber-cutting, water impoundments or drainage systems (usually elements of timber sales)—or anything that might change or disturb the existing environment. In Alaska, NEPA had a more substantial impact on forest management than in the "lower 48," since National Forest lands existed, for the most part, in their natural pristine condition. NEPA criteria discouraged altering that environment more so than was true in the second growth, more used, forests of the other states. By 1970, forest management, which only a decade earlier had been largely the responsibility of the Region, its administrative divisions and staff, had become subject to Congressional direc-

tives and a host of diverse and often divergent interest groups who used the legislation and courts to challenge, monitor, and implement policies affecting national forest management by the Forest Service managers. In this, Region 10 was no different than those in the lower forty-eight states.

Legislation approved by Congress after 1970, however, created policies and directives that applied only to Alaska. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) conveyed title to approximately 44 million acres of federal land in Alaska (including 550,000 acres of land in the National Forests) and \$962 million to Alaska's native peoples organized into corporations, rather than reservations. The Act also set in motion the processes for decisions on the use and ownership of much of Alaska's remaining 375 million acres of land by mandating the reservation of large conservation areas on Federal lands which comprised 59% of the total land area. ANCSA sought to determine issues of aboriginal titles to land in Alaska that had remained unresolved since the Alaska purchase in 1867. It was the first major land legislation following statehood. It created, among other things, the "ANCSA corporation," which allowed native communities for the first time to enter into commercial timber sales and operations. The ANCSA settlement was precipitated by industry, and state and federal interests anxious to facilitate petroleum exploration and other commercial development. ANCSA and subsequent amending legislation, land transfers, and exchange acts created an institutional framework that transformed Alaska, and the administration of the National Forests.

The Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act (RPA or Resources Planning Act of 1974) initiated comprehensive studies leading to long-range forest planning. The Act imposed more constraints on timber harvest and gave greater importance to recreation and watershed uses. The Sikes Act of 1960, amended in 1974, established cooperative programs between National Forest managers and state authority relating to wildlife management on the National Forests. The National Forest Management Act of 1976 amended the 1974 Planning Act and established additional criteria and definitions for multi-use management policies. Region 10's major management products and efforts of the 1970s, relating to this legislation, included the Tongass Forest Management Plan (1979) and the Chugach Forest Management Plan completed in 1981.

Those plans immediately became subject to the revisions imposed by ANILCA, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (December 2, 1980). ANILCA evolved directly out of ANCSA, which authorized the federal government to set aside 80 million acres of Alaska's land for study and potential selection as "National Interest Lands" (referred to as "d-2" lands). Federal and state agencies, under the authority of the Secretary of the Interior, established a joint Federal/State Land Use Planning Commission to make recommendations on the allocation and use of the undesignated "d-2" lands. Those studies engaged Region 10 personnel in intensive evaluation, surveys and negotiation for much of the decade between 1970 and 1980. Indeed, the studies and relevant land transfers are still an on-going part of Forest Service business in the 1990s.

ANILCA established fourteen Wilderness areas totaling 5.4 million acres in the Tongass National Forest. The Act also changed the proscriptions on the use of Wilderness. In the Alaska Region, unlike in Wilderness areas of the lower forty-eight states, wilderness users could under certain conditions build shelters and use motorized vehicles. ANILCA added 1.4 million acres to the Alaska National Forests. On December 1, 1978, in an executive action related to pending ANILCA legislation, President Jimmy Carter created the Admiralty Island and Misty Fjords National Monuments. ANILCA prescribed a new maximum production level (4.5 billion board feet per decade) for timber harvests.

ANILCA recognized one particularly unique use of some National Forest resources (and resources on other federal lands) in Alaska. The Act allowed subsistence use on the National Forests for both Native peoples and all rural residents. Subsistence is defined as:

the customary and traditional uses by rural Alaska residents of wild renewable resources for direct, personal or family consumption as food, shelter, fuel, clothing, tools, or transportation; for the making and selling of handicraft articles out of inedible byproducts of fish and wildlife resources taken for personal or family consumption; for barter, or sharing for personal or family consumption; and for customary trade.

Subsistence meant that rural Alaskans might continue to enjoy the customary and traditional non-commercial uses of the forests such as hunting, fishing, and gathering.

These rights were, in some cases, anterior to other uses and allocations of forest resources. But, insofar as ANILCA subsistence rights applied to rural residents, the Act conflicted somewhat with the Alaska State Constitution which reserved fish, wildlife, and waters for the common use of all the people—rural and urban. In any event, the recognition of subsistence rights by ANILCA, with the earlier ANCSA and NEPA provisions, made forest resource management considerably different in Alaska as compared to other Regions of the National Forest System.

Many Region 10 foresters expected approval of ANILCA in 1980 to mark the final stage of the land allocation process which had begun with the Statehood Act of 1958 and the ANCSA legislation of 1971. Rather, the Act led to oversight hearings, revision of the basic forest land management plans, and new legislation affecting land uses and allocations. Oversight hearings on ANILCA initiated in 1985 led to legislation introduced in Congress in 1986 and yet another amendment to ANCSA/ANILCA legislation. The Tongass Timber Reform Act of 1990, recognized land use designations (LUD's) unique to the Alaska National Forests, legislated buffer zones for timber harvest areas, created six new wilderness areas and reformed the long-term timber contracts. The Act removed the specified maximum annual board feet limit for timber production while stating that the Forest Service "should seek to provide a supply of timber which meets market demand...."

ANCSA, ANILCA, and the Tongass Timber Reform Act are legislative packages that affect forest management practices only in Alaska. The legislation recognizes the unique environment of Alaska, the cultural distinctiveness of its Native peoples, and the special qualities of life for all peoples on the last frontier. Since 1970, much of the business of the USDA Forest Service in Region 10 has evolved around ANCSA, ANILCA and the Tongass Timber Reform Act. Although the Alaska Constitution of 1959 provided the initial parameters for collaboration, cooperation, and sometimes competition between the State of Alaska and the National Forests, since 1970 the relationships have been redefined largely because of the new federal legislation and the rapidly developing Alaska economy and state governmental infrastructure made possible by revenues from Alaska's oil discoveries.

Thus, for the twenty-five years, 1970 to 1995, Alaska's two National Forests, the Tongass and Chugach, have

been significant elements in the rapidly changing social, political and economic order within Alaska as they have been in the past. During those same twenty-five years Alaska's National Forests have become an ideological battleground for developmental and anti-developmental interests at the local, state, and national levels.

But there are many gradients among those who might support commercial development and expansion, and among those who would leave the forests largely untouched by humankind. The traditional users of Alaska forest resources, the timber, mining, and fishing industries believe that the value of the National Forests lies in their consumptive uses. On the other hand, some wilderness advocates and environmentalists may object to timber cutting or mining because it might impair a scenic view. Others may not want the timber cut because it might impair a view believed vital to the tourist trade. Thus their interest, like that of the timber industry, is equally commercial. Others would preserve the natural forest environment in order to protect recreational uses that may also have a strong commercial context as in sport fishing and hunting, packing and kayaking. Other recreation advocates may wish to strip timber from certain areas and build lodgings for ski slopes, or cabins for wildlife viewers. Ironically, many of those who supported or initiated the organic legislation creating the National Forest system at the turn of the century, did so for the same reasons: that the resources might be conserved or preserved for use by future generations.

Native Alaskans are similarly divided over corporate versus traditional use of forest resources and vary as to the degree of their support for policies that would basically conserve and those that would facilitate the development and utilization of forest resources. Natives tend to oppose timber sales on National Forest lands in the interest of protecting their own subsistence rights. Until recently, Natives have shown little disposition to curb timber sales from Native-owned lands. Alaskans who advocate commercial expansion and development, native and newcomers, often tend to view federal regulatory policies as restrictive if not stifling. Those who seek subsistence rights on National Forest lands have sometimes collaborated with larger out-of-state environmental constituencies to influence federal legislation affecting their interests in the use of Alaska forest resources. The National Forests have traditionally provided the subsistence, timber, mining, fishing and recreational and other opportunities associated with the livelihood of many users.

Multiple-use management largely involves the allocation of resources among competitive interests under guidelines established in contemporary times, by Congress and the USDA Forest Service. The business of managing the National Forests has changed since statehood, and more markedly since 1970 under the influence of ANCSA, ANILCA and the Tongass Timber Reform Act.

The study entitled *A New Frontier: Managing the National Forests in Alaska, 1970-1995*, examines the history and dynamics affecting forest management in Region 10 over the past quarter-century. It attempts to do so, however, within the context of the previous sixty-five years of USDA-Forest Service administrative history, and in the context of the historical experiences of the people of Alaska. ANCSA and ANILCA have created a definitive imprint on forest management since 1970, thus the authors have emphasized resource management in the context of this legislation and Alaska Native populations and cultures and the developing economy.

Fundamental changes are occurring in the economy of Alaska and in its social and governmental structures. The inception of the state, and especially the development of state government since 1970 are important elements in the administration of federal forest resources. There have been dramatic changes in relevant Federal legislation. There have been significant changes in public attitudes and in the public's understanding of conservation and ecosystem management. This study seeks to define the issues and to profile the conservation, ecology, mining, subsistence, fishing, hunting, outfitting, visitor, recreation, timber, petroleum and other industries that are so much a part of the dynamics of resource management in Region 10.

Multiple use resource management is as much a matter of managing social and economic change as it is managing renewable and non-renewable resources. The dynamics of forest management go far beyond growing or harvesting timber, providing wildlife habitat, or wilderness, or recreational environs. The dynamics are a microcosm of a people, a state, and a nation. In some respects the Tongass and Chugach National Forests have been at the vortex of changes that are both Alaskan and national in scope. This then is a very contemporary history of change and the impact of change on the Alaska Region, USDA Forest Service.

The authors hope that this history will provide insight and a better understanding of the events and issues confronting forest managers, and environmental, business, and cultural groups who use or have an interest in the use of National Forest resources—in Alaska and elsewhere.

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The authors conducted approximately sixty interviews ranging from about thirty-minutes to several hours each with Forest Service personnel and retirees located variously in Juneau, Anchorage, Petersburg, Ketchikan, and Sitka. Without exception each was very helpful and responsive. Their time and contributions are greatly appreciated. Their names are listed in the bibliographic essay. We were very privileged to include Governor Walter J. Hickel among those interviewed.

Chapter I

The Alaska National Forests: The Land And Its Peoples

"Nowhere have I been where anything approaches the tie or closeness of the people to the land, as is true in Alaska," commented Paul Brewster, a forest manager with the USDA Forest Service, Alaska Region. That interdependence of the land and the peoples of Alaska has shaped the history of Alaska. That closeness continues to affect the management of the National Forests in Alaska in very distinctive ways. Alaska statehood, approved by Congress in 1959, markedly affected the administration of National Forest resources in Alaska. So too has passage of what might be termed the "environmental" legislation of the 1960s, including the Multiple Use Sustained Yield Act (1960), the Wilderness Act (1964), the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (1968), and not least, NEPA, the National Environmental Policy Act approved in 1969. Statehood, and certainly the legislation of the sixties, provided new directions for forest resource use and management.

The Forest Service began to implement the new policies of the sixties through practical management programs prescribed by Congressional enabling legislation in the 1970s. The Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act (Resources Planning Act or RPA, 1974) initiated comprehensive studies leading to long-range forest planning. The Act imposed more constraints on timber harvest and gave greater importance to recreation and watershed uses. The Sikes Act, also approved in 1974, established cooperative programs between National Forest managers and state authorities relating to wildlife management on the National Forests. The National Forest Management Act of 1976 amended the 1974 Resource Planning Act and established additional criteria and definitions for multiple-use management policies.

But no federal legislation has created such a distinctive management environment as has ANCSA, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, approved by Congress on December 18, 1971. That Act, and related acts including the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980 (ANILCA), and most recently, the Tongass Timber Reform Act (1990), have created a management environment that is unique to the Alaska Region. While Alaska may be considered the nation's "last frontier," the Alaska National Forests comprise a "new frontier" in resource management.

ANCSA sought to determine and settle issues of aboriginal title to land in Alaska that had remained unresolved since the Alaska purchase in 1867. ANCSA and ANILCA incorporate the history of the Native peoples of Alaska and their traditional resource uses

with Alaska's contemporary populations and forest resource uses. Alaska's past has been legislatively commingled with the present. Thus, the more ancient history of the land and the people of Alaska are a necessary precursor to understanding this new frontier of National Forest management that has emerged since 1970.

The Organization of the National Forests

Curiously, the first federal forest legislation relating to Alaska had to do with fishing rather than forests. In response to visibly declining salmon populations in the late 1880s, the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries sponsored a research study of salmon and salmon fisheries on Kodiak and Afognak Islands. The researchers observed fish traps and set nets erected so as to prevent the ascent of every returning fish upriver, and beach seining methods that completely obstructed the mouths of salmon streams, that were commonly carried out by commercial fishing enterprises in Alaska. They visited Afognak River at the mouth of which two canneries were operating, and reported a Native village of about 40 dwellings located on the stream. Conditions here were ideal for the establishment of a fish reserve: unobstructed streams with all five species of Pacific salmon, a mild climate, absence of development (mines, sawmills or railroads) or private holdings, sufficient timber for construction purposes, and a Native village nearby that could provide a labor force. Drawing a comparison with the passing of the buffalo on the plains and the Indian of California, the investigator suggested that the salmon, too, were helpless before the "white man's advancing civilization," as well as fishermen's greed.¹

At the request of the fish commission, President Harrison created the Afognak Forest and Fish Culture Reserve by executive proclamation on Dec. 24, 1892. Thus, as Lawrence W. Rakestraw explains in his *History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska*, the very birth of the national forest system in Alaska is connected with the need for conservation of one of Alaska's principal resources in the face of development pressures, and with the inter-connectedness among Alaska's resources, in this case forest and fishery resources.² This beginning prefigures the more modern management concept of multiple use.

It is perhaps ironic that the 1891 legislation that gave to the executive branch the powers to establish fish culture stations on Kodiak and Afognak Islands was also that which permitted new townsites to be surveyed and

conveyed, and extended the Trade and Manufacturing Act to Alaska which authorized the transfer of numerous sites used for commercial mining, fishing and logging, to the new white settlers in Alaska. The legislation also stated that the Natives of Alaska shall not be disturbed in their use and possession of occupied land until future legislation is passed. The dynamics between white settlement and aboriginal title remained unresolved until the 1970s.

Creation of the Tongass National Forest, 1902-1909

Between 1902 and 1909, President Roosevelt issued several proclamations establishing the Tongass National Forest in southeast Alaska. The first of these reservations, created on August 20, 1902, and entitled the Alexander Archipelago Forest Reserve, was completely insular. It encompassed the Prince of Wales (and associated islands to seaward), Zarembo, Kuiu, Kupreanof, and Chichagof Islands (also with associated islands to seaward). The second reservation encompassed the mainland of southeast Alaska from the southern border north to Lynn Canal and Skagway; it was made on September 10, 1907, and named the Tongass National Forest. On July 1, 1908, the Reserve and the Forest were consolidated into a single national forest, the Tongass, with a total area of 6,756,362 acres. The largest withdrawal occurred in the proclamation of February 16, 1909, when the mainland area near Yakutat (from Dry Bay to Yakutat Bay), the Chilkat Peninsula (on the western side of Lynn Canal) and the remaining islands (including Admiralty, Baranof, Etolin and Wrangell Islands) added another 8,724,000 acres to the Tongass National Forest.³ The existing mostly caucasian towns and cities were excluded from the forest.

The first forest reserve was made upon the recommendation of Lt. G.T. Emmons, whom the President asked to prepare a report on possible forests in Alaska.⁴ Emmons found that the best timber was on the islands, where it was not affected by the colder climate associated with the glaciers found on the mainland, and he selected the more sparsely populated islands. The principal inhabitants were about 800 Tlingit Indians in villages on Kuiu Island, in the village of Kake on Kupreanof Island and the villages of Hoonah and Tenakee on Chichagof Island. The largest of these was Kake, with a population of about 500. There were also small sawmills located at Howkan, Shakan, Kasaan Bay, and Hetta Inlet, and a few canneries in the area; Zarembo Island was uninhabited.⁵

Among the protestors to this action was the Rev. Henry Corser, the Presbyterian minister to the Tlingit and

Haida Indians in Wrangell, near Zarembo Island. He wrote that the restrictions on logging would force the Indians to "revert to primitive conditions or else starve," since they were "loggers by occupation."⁶ After the demise of fur-bearing animals and the subsequent collapse of the fur trade, the Wrangell Indians had very limited means and access to cash income. At the turn of the century, they derived a substantial portion of their cash from the occasional, but regular, sale of logs to Wrangell residents to be used as firewood. The provision of firewood had been a common pursuit of local Indians since the arrival of white settlers in Wrangell. Furthermore, the operator of the then recently-established Wrangell cannery preferred to import white and Chinese labor rather than employ local Natives, and the sawmill likewise did not hire Natives. Thus, as Corser knew, the newer economic opportunities were not available to the Indians in Wrangell. Corser also objected on the grounds that the reservation was an immoral confiscation of Indian property, since the Indians considered the land to be theirs by the prior right of occupation and ownership.⁷ As described below, Tlingit and Haida property rights in southeast Alaska were eventually upheld by the U.S. Court of Claims in Alaska's first Native land claims settlement in 1951.

The white population in the reserve was mainly engaged in mining and fishing, and there was need for timber in both industries. At this time, loggers were unrestricted and cut trees anywhere that was convenient. Rakestraw has noted that "the standard procedure was for the logger to go where he pleased and cut whatever he wanted, without getting permission from anyone and without notifying any official of the action."⁸ Non-reserve land was managed by the Department of the Interior's General Land Office, and in lieu of holding timber sales loggers were routinely assessed minor fines for "trespass" based on self-reported footage (until 1903, when the General Land Office initiated a sale policy). Proposing that Forest Service management would bring in more revenue than the GLO and also serve to protect the land from speculative development, the Forest Supervisor for Alaska, Langille, concluded that an additional reserve of two million acres on the mainland near Ketchikan should be made.

There were a few small sawmills in the area, but the largest mills were located at Juneau, Douglas, Wrangell and Ketchikan outside the reserve. According to Rakestraw, the owners of these large sawmills "wanted more reserves created in order to tap the potential export market." In 1907, the Forest Service proposed the area located on the mainland to be withdrawn as

the Tongass National Forest, and it was favorably acted upon by President Roosevelt. The final acreage was smaller than that suggested in the Service's initial report. The Ketchikan Power Company supported the proposal for another reserve because it would provide them with export timber. According to Rakestraw, "Its original creation was ... as a timber reservoir for the Ketchikan lumber industry and to curb Canadian log theft across the Portland Canal."⁹

The policy decision to create another national forest at this time was partly in response to a movement within Congress to curb the president's power to establish reserves by executive order. In 1909, the Forest Service made another recommendation for a reserve near Yakutat, which also included the remaining islands in the Alexander Archipelago, and another presidential proclamation putting 8.7 million additional acres into the Tongass National Forest was the result.¹⁰

Authorized by the Antiquities Act of 1906, the president was also empowered to set aside areas containing natural wonders or historic and prehistoric sites. Shortly thereafter, the Forest Service played a role in the creation of three such areas in southeastern Alaska. In 1910, the Sitka National Monument was created by the president at the urging of the Secretary of Agriculture, who submitted the proposal for such to the Secretary of Interior for the president's approval. Local Forest Service personnel assisted the Sitka Arctic Brotherhood with a petition to request better protection for the historic Sitka Indian Village and fort, the site of the 1804 battle with Baranof, from vandalism. Earlier, Olmsted had submitted recommendations for the preservation of totem poles and community houses at the former Tlingit and Haida villages of Tuxekan and Old Kasaan, and these were acted upon favorably within the decade.¹¹

Creation of the Chugach National Forest, 1904-1909

Like the Tongass, the Chugach National Forest was the product of several executive actions by President Roosevelt, in this case between 1907 and 1909. The initial proclamation creating the Chugach National Forest was issued on July 23, 1907. Comprising 4.96 million acres, it extended westward from the Copper River to the Kenai Peninsula, encompassing Prince William Sound and the islands such as Montague, Hitchinbrook, Hawkins, and Latouche Islands.¹² President Roosevelt added the Afognak Fish Culture and Forest Reserve to the Chugach by executive order on July 2, 1908; it remained under joint management of the Forest Service and the U.S. Fish Commission. Further additions were made to the Chugach by presidential

proclamation on February 23, 1909, when areas in the west (most of the timberland on the Kenai Peninsula, Turnagain Arm and Knik Arm) and the east (from the Copper River to Cape Suckling) increased the total region to 11,280,640 acres.

Prince William Sound and the Kenai Peninsula was first examined by Langille in 1904. The proposal to reserve the Prince William Sound area came about in 1907 when, as described above, the Forest Service grew concerned about a movement within Congress to restrict the president's ability to create reserves by executive order. In response, the Service moved to create both the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. The timber in the Chugach was mainly Sitka spruce, black spruce and hemlock, and the most valuable trees were on the islands. As in the Tongass, mining and fishing were the principal economic activities of the new white settlers in Prince William Sound, and copper mining was paramount. In 1907, there were active mines at four locations: Landlocked Bay, Boulder Bay, Ellamar and Latouche Island; and the great copper mine at Kennecott was soon to be developed. Commercial salmon fishing was mainly confined to the east, near Orca by Cordova and eastward at Katalla in Controller Bay, and on Wingham Island. In 1907, there was only one mill operating in the region, at Valdez; most of the lumber used in the region was imported from Puget Sound. But local trees provided logs for railroad ties, piling and mining tunnel supports.¹³ Shortly after the forest was created, 82,000 acres were eliminated in Valdez Arm as pre-existing mining interests.

Various syndicates were engaged in developing railroads during the first decade of this century at Seward, Valdez, Cordova, and Katalla (which was abandoned in favor of the Cordova route). The railroad boom brought abuses, which was a principal factor in Forest Service recommendations to make additions to the Chugach. Wasteful cutting by the Alaska Central Railroad along Turnagain Arm in the Rainbow, Indian, Bird and Glacier Creek areas was noted by Langille in 1907; the railroad was responsible for cutting three million board feet which had been left in the woods to decay between 1905 and 1907.¹⁴ The timber resources were seen as necessary for the development of railroads, which in turn were needed to develop the coal resources, and to support gold placer mining; the additional reserve would provide a system of forest production that would save the timber from overexploitation by larger interests at the expense of the individual. In a report of his inspection in 1907, Langille wrote of the need to protect the rights of the individual and to encourage small-scale

efforts to develop minerals against the "unscrupulous" mining and industrial interests "who seek by every known method of extortion to obstruct and hinder every enterprise undertaken."¹⁵

Similar waste occurred east of Prince William Sound around Controller Bay, near Katalla, where two million board feet were left on the ground to rot by one of the railroad syndicates competing for a route to the Kennecott field. Most of this eastern block was under fraudulent coal mining claims since 1904 or 1905. This area, as well as the western area around the Kenai Peninsula and Turnagain and Knik Arms, was added to the Chugach in 1909. In 1913, several mining (coal) claims in this eastern area, which were known as the Cunningham claims, were cancelled by the Department of Interior, after investigations determined that their true purpose was to acquire the timber, rather than being legitimate mining pursuits.¹⁶

In 1904-05, Langille observed that there was an influx of wasteful white game hunters into the Kenai Peninsula, and as result of their influence the Tanaina Indians had become less mindful of their traditional conservation practices of animal populations. Langille observed that the white sports "stayed for a short time, killed as many good heads as they saw, and then took out the best." He explains, "Traders also hired Indians to kill trophy-sized heads for sale to sportsmen."¹⁷ Langille identified an area of the Kenai Peninsula suitable for a national forest, and he suggested that a portion of the forest region ought to be set aside as a game preserve, to protect the natural populations of bear, mountain sheep, moose and caribou from overharvesting.¹⁸ He provided cursory reports of the human population centers, estimating 200 permanent residents at Seward (mostly connected with the railroad), 200 at Kenai and 100 at Hope, with additional settlements in the interior and fishing villages along the coast (such as Homer).¹⁹ He also reported that, in the vicinity of the Knik River, there were several Dena'ina villages and one trading post inhabited by four white men. He observed that the coming of the railroad would likely encourage market hunting among these Indians, much as had occurred on the Kenai, and would degrade the indigenous cultural practices and traditions.²⁰

Other Alaskan Proposals

The proposed Norton Bay area forest reserve was withdrawn in 1903, but was restored to the public domain in 1907 after Langille investigated and recommended against its creation. Following investigations in the Cook Inlet area in 1905, Langille recommended a Talkeetna National Forest of 10.3 million acres, encompassing the drainages of the

Talkeetna, Yentna, Susitna, and the Matanuska rivers. No action was taken regarding this recommendation.

Peoples Of The Forests Before The Establishment Of National Forests In Alaska

Chugach Region

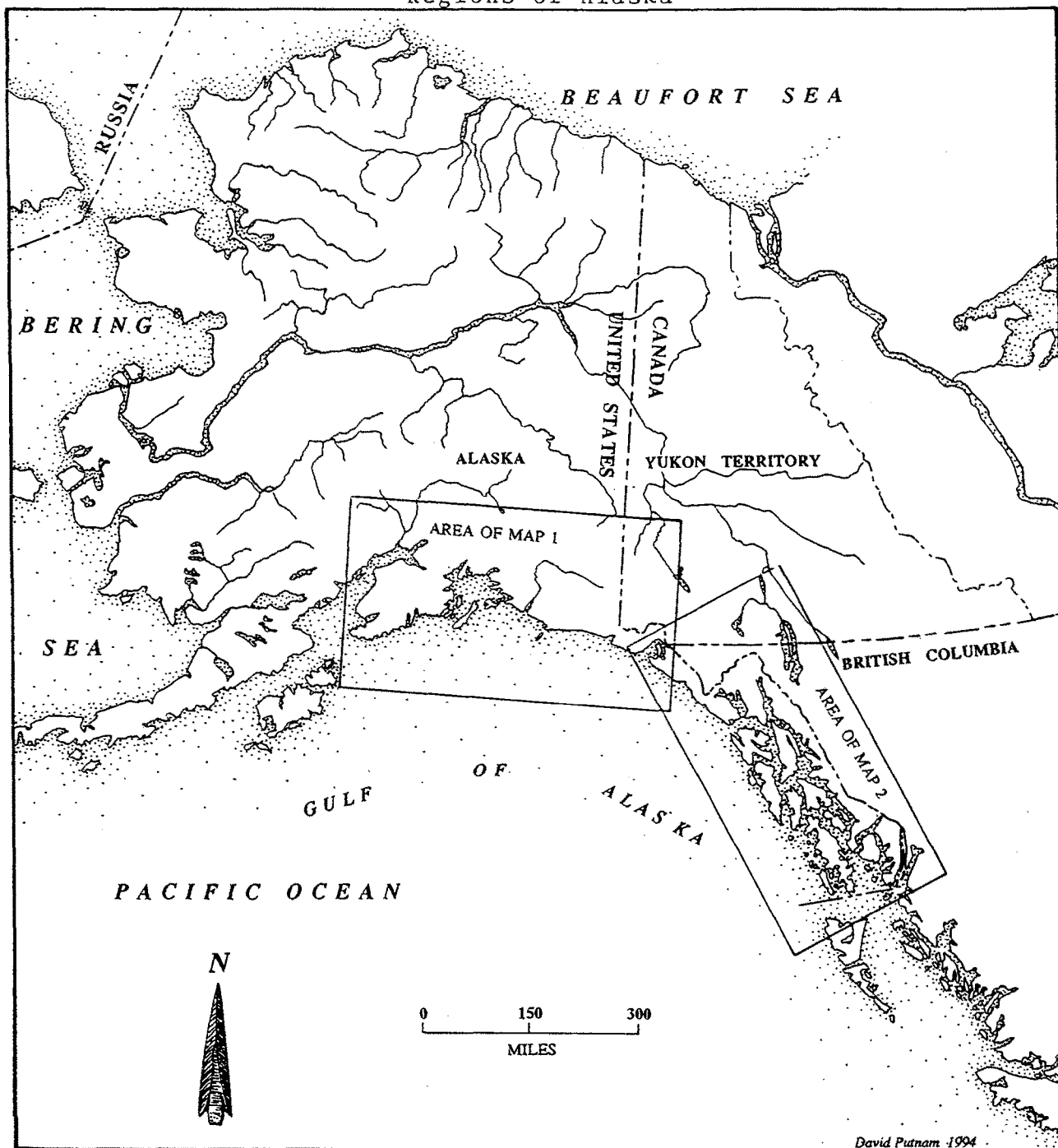
The boundaries and dimensions of the Chugach National Forest have changed since 1909, when its 11.2 million acres covered the vast south central coastal region of Alaska from the Copper River to the southern tip of the Kenai Peninsula. Although most of the Kenai Peninsula, the interior, and the eastern extremities are no longer part of the Chugach National Forest, the central coastal core of the original forest is the modern Chugach. The Chugach National Forest encompasses all of Prince William Sound and extends inland into the Chugach range. The forest boundary extends from Cape Suckling, east of Prince William Sound, to the north and west through the sound to northeastern Kenai Peninsula as far as the Russian River, and to Hope on Turnagain Arm. A short distance southeast of Cape Suckling is Yakutat Bay, which marks the start of the Tongass National Forest in southeast Alaska. The 5.8 million acres of the Chugach is the second largest forest in the United States. The coastal margin and islands of Prince William Sound are covered with stands of spruce and hemlock supported by the substantial rainfall in the region, but proximity to glaciers in the mountains of the Chugach range brings lower temperatures and inhibits the growth on the mainland, as compared to the islands. Enormous wetlands on the Copper River Delta to the east serve as the nesting, staging and feeding grounds for over 20 million birds each year. To the west, on the Kenai Peninsula, the spruce forest is outside of the rainbelt. The beautiful scenery and abundant fish and wildlife attracts substantial recreation, wildlife viewing, sport and commercial use in the region. These lands and fisheries were used by the ancestors of contemporary Native Alaskans in pre-historic times.

Prehistory of the Chugach Alutiiq (Pacific Eskimo) People

Information on the early prehistory of the Chugach region is derived from assumed associations with trends in nearby coastal areas since there have been only two major excavations in the region, the older of which shows human occupation at about 4400 years ago.²¹ Judging from the prehistory of adjacent regions to the west and southeast, the first inhabitants of the Chugach region could have arrived as long as 11,000 years ago when late Pleistocene glaciers receded from

PLATE I. The Chugach (Map 1) and the Tongass (Map 2)

Regions of Alaska



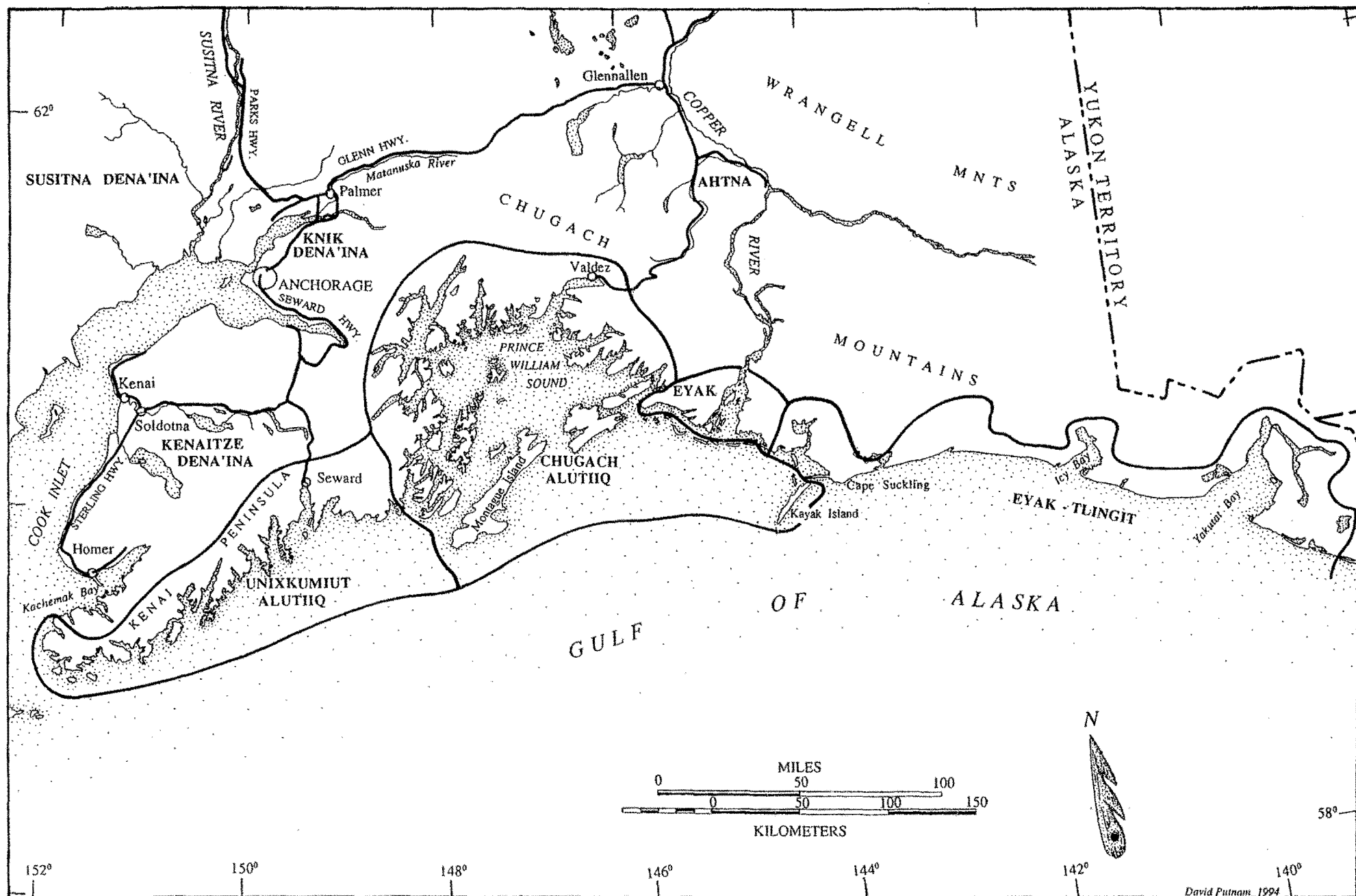
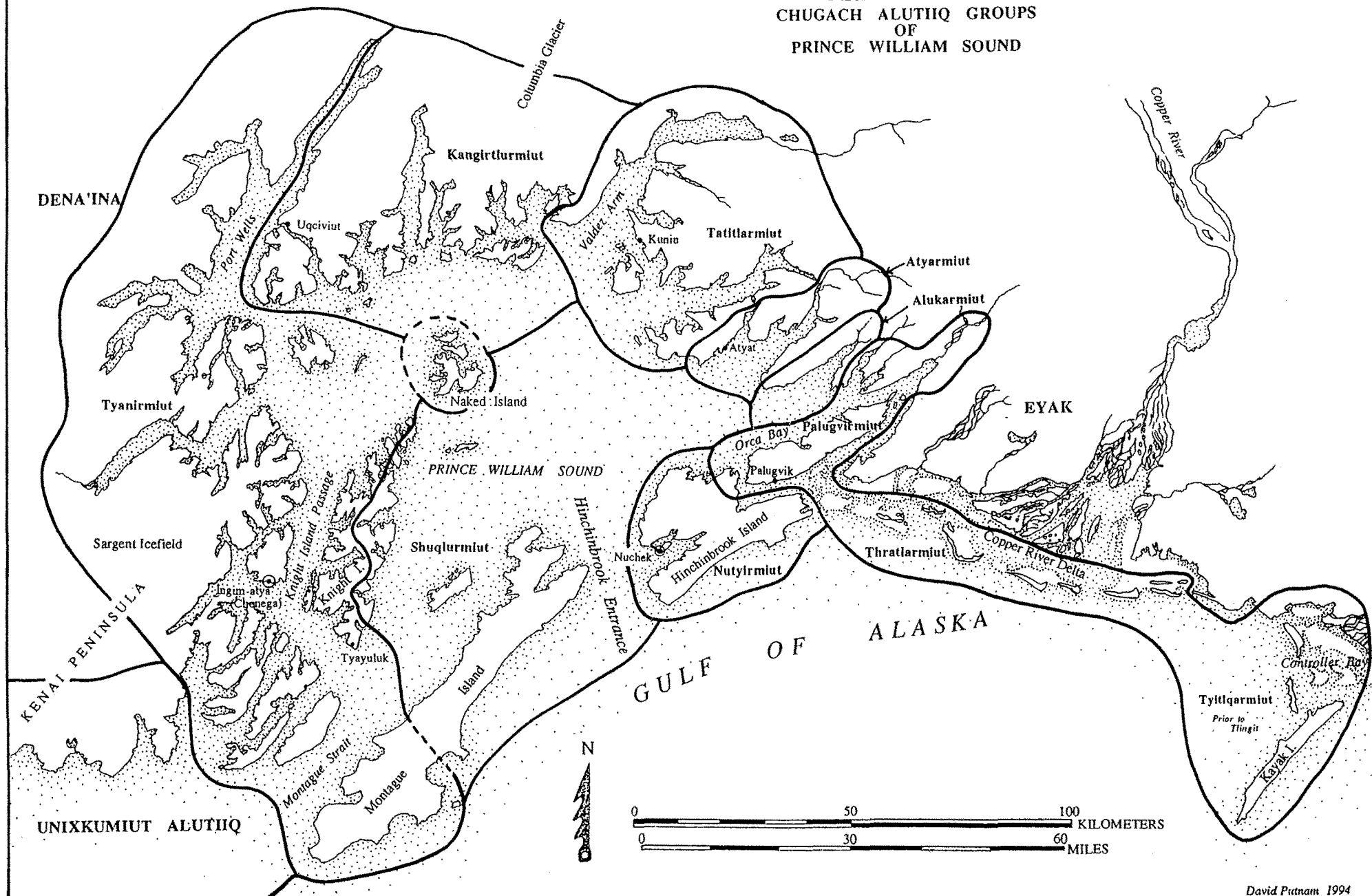


PLATE II. The Chugach Alutiiq (Pacific Eskimo) and People of the
Chugach Region

CHUGACH MOUNTAINS PLATE III
CHUGACH ALUTHIQ GROUPS
OF
PRINCE WILLIAM SOUND



the area.²² Specialized maritime hunters and fishers were living on Kodiak Island and on the adjacent Alaska Peninsula by 7,000 years ago. A modified form of this culture, called the Ocean Bay tradition, probably extended to the Chugach region including the southern Kenai Peninsula and Prince William Sound. These people exploited salmon runs during the summer while residing in fish camps, and pursued sea mammals (seals, sea lions, sea otters, porpoises and whales), ocean fish, birds, land animals and shellfish at other seasons.

The production of ground stone (slate) implements commenced about 4500-4000 years ago, introducing a new phase in the Ocean Bay tradition in the Kodiak and Alaska Peninsula area which lasted until about 3500-3000 years ago. This overlaps with the earliest known human habitation in Prince William Sound which occurred between about 4400 and 3300 years ago and which the Yarrowbroughs call the Uqciuvit phase based on their work at the site of that name.²³ They report that very little is known about these people, "except that they hunted sea mammals, used red ocher, and were familiar with slate grinding." From 3200 to 2500 years ago a glacier advance probably drove the inhabitants of the inner sound out of the area, but there is evidence that the outer areas, such as at Knight Island, were occupied at this time.²⁴ By about 2400 years ago, Uqciuvit was reoccupied and Palugvik (on Hawkins Island on the eastern sound) was first inhabited. These two sites provide the substance of the more recent prehistory for the sound.

Starting about 3500 years ago, a new culture — the Kachemak tradition — appeared in the Alutiiq region. Although centered in lower Cook Inlet, evidence for this culture has also been found in sites on Kodiak Island, the Alaska Peninsula, and at Palugvik in Prince William Sound. This culture, also based on a maritime economy, became progressively more elaborated until about 1000 years ago when it reached an apex.²⁵ There is some association between the late Kachemak culture and the early Palugvik occupation during the second or third century A.D. at Palugvik, where people lived in houses constructed of timbers. A change to a later cultural form at Palugvik, which occurred a few centuries later, may have been associated with the development of conifer forest communities in the sound that became established during this millennium.²⁶ At Uqciuvit, on the other hand, the assemblage does not reflect a Kachemak association and an *in situ* development can be seen from its reoccupation to the protohistoric or early historic period (Chugach phase).²⁷ Further, a continuity in lithic technology is noted at both

sites, suggesting there was more independent development and stability in the Sound, more of an outlier of the Kachemak culture, within prehistoric Alutiiq traditions. Residents of both sites relied heavily on marine resources, particularly mammals; but there was more dependence on fish at Uqciuvit than at Palugvik indicating there was a larger supply of other resources at Palugvik.²⁸

The formation of historic Alutiiq Eskimo culture is traced to the last centuries of the first millennium A.D., for the earlier traditions (the Norton and Kachemak) cease to exist as distinct assemblages by about 1000 A.D. In the west (Alaska Peninsula and Kodiak Island), this shift is associated with assimilation and then partial rejection of elements of a new northern Eskimo culture (Thule), before the formation of the Koniag phase on Kodiak Island, while in Prince William Sound there was a more gradual change incorporating localized antecedents and new artifacts.²⁹ Modern Alutiiq culture is associated with the simultaneous appearance of Koniag (Kodiak Island) and the Chugach (Prince William Sound) phases, as well as with related communities on the Alaska Peninsula and southern Kenai Peninsula. The modern Chugach had close cultural, linguistic and archaeological ties with the Koniag, but they also showed great similarities with many traits of Yakutat archaeology, including recent trends in the use of copper and woodworking tools, as well as traits that are very much older.³⁰

The Aboriginal Cultures of the Chugach Region

At the time of the arrival of the first European explorers, the Chugach region was inhabited by members of three groups: Chugach Alutiiq Eskimo, Eyak and Tanaina Athapaskan. The Chugach Eskimo occupied all the coast and islands of Prince William Sound, and a closely related group lived on the southern Kenai Peninsula. The Eyak were living along the coast from the mouth of the Copper River at Cordova east to Cape Suckling and beyond, where they had become intermixed significantly with the northernmost Tlingit. The Tanaina Athapaskan people appeared in the upper Kenai Peninsula area, supplanting the prehistoric Eskimo culture in this area, sometime before the first arrival of Europeans. There is substantial ethnographic and archaeological information showing elements of a north Pacific maritime culture shared by Aleut, Alutiiq, Eyak and Tlingit (Northwest Coast) peoples. The Chugach culture is essentially an Eskimo culture, but it is highly modified by influences from the Northwest Coast, and to a lesser extent from the interior of Alaska. The Eyak language is distantly related to the interior Athapaskan, but their culture is maritime with character-

istics of Northwest Coast and Chugach societies.

Chugach Eskimo

The Chugach are the easternmost of the Alutiiq-speaking Eskimo people.³¹ They occupied the coast and islands of Prince William Sound, extending east nearly to Cordova, and at one time also the mainland farther to the east as far as Controller Bay. In the eighteenth century, they occupied Kayak, Wingham and Middleton Islands, while the area between Cordova and Point Martin belonged to the Eyak, a different cultural group with distant linguistic affinities with the Athapaskan Indians of the interior. After the advent of the Russians, who enforced peace between the Chugach and the Eyak, the latter extended their hunting area northwest into Prince William Sound to Port Gravina and as far as Ellamar. To the southeast, Tlingitized Eyak drove the Chugach from Controller Bay in the nineteenth century when, under the influence of Russian settlement, the eastern Chugach concentrated at the village of Nuchek on Hitchinbrook Island.³² A related Alutiiq group, called "unikkumiut" by the Chugach, inhabited the area on the south shore of the Kenai Peninsula from Puget Bay (near Seward) to Cook Inlet.

There were numerous settlements in the region, although the overall numbers of the Chugach did not approach those of the Koniag to the west, or the Tlingit to the east. Veniaminov counted 471 Chugach in the 1830s, after the smallpox epidemic of 1834-36 had taken its toll. The Chugach were divided into eight local groups comprised of one or more permanent villages, and seasonal camps. These groups were geographical divisions named after the principal village or some other locality in their territory (see Plate III). Each group had its own customary hunting grounds, but there were no sharp boundaries between them and families did not claim exclusive use of certain areas, although villages would chase away intruders from their salmon or trapping places.

Each village, or perhaps a few villages in common, had a head chief and a chief assistant. He directed the scheduling of hunting activity, led hunting expeditions, sent people whaling, and decided when to put up fish or undertake military excursions. He presided over meetings in the village and was considered to be the richest man in the village. However, a rich man was not made chief just because of his wealth; the Chugach chief served as the node in a redistribution network. The Chugach chiefs owned slaves who were captives in wars with the Koniag, or were purchased from the Eyak and Yakutat Tlingit.

Chugach villages were always located close to the sea. The settlement pattern was adjusted to the seasonal requirements of the subsistence economy, with some dispersal to hunting and fishing camps depending upon the availability of resources. Some villages were inhabited on a year-round basis. People would congregate in winter villages with more permanent structures that housed several families. Chugach houses were rectangular with sprucewood plank walls and roofs and sleeping rooms along the sides. The houses were semi-subterranean, with walls ascending to about 3-4 feet above ground, and a steam bath was always attached. Summer houses were similar in construction, but were above ground and were used as smoke-houses.

Hunting and fishing was the basis of the Chugach economy. Sea mammals, salmon and, on the mainland, mountain goat, were mainstays of the diet, and small rodents and birds were regularly pursued. Sea mammals (fur and spotted seal, whale (humpback, fin and minke), sea lion, porpoise, and sea otter), salmon (all five species, depending upon availability), ducks and geese, salt water fish (cod, halibut and sculpin), land mammals (mountain goat, black and brown bear, squirrel and marmot), eulachon, herring, shellfish, berries and roots were taken for food. Berries, plants and vegetable products played a part in the Chugach diet that far exceeded that of other Eskimo societies, according to Birket-Smith.³³

There were sub-regional variations in this general subsistence pattern depending upon local availability of resources. For example, the Nuchek people, inhabiting the west coast of Hitchinbrook Island, had the best sea otter grounds in the sound, as well as abundant whales and salmon, while the neighboring Sheep Bay people of Port Gravina were poorer and fewer in number, and utilized mountain goat heavily.

The natural resources used as food, as well as stone and copper, also provided raw materials for tools, weapons, clothing, boats, and trade. The Eyak served as middlemen in trade between the Chugach and the Ahtna Athapaskans, and the Chugach also traded with the Tanaina, Koniag and Aleut, but less so with the Tlingit with whom they were more often at war. The Chugach hunted and travelled by one- and two-hatch kayaks, dugout canoes and umiaks. A portage from Passage Canal to Turnagain Arm on Cook Inlet provided access across the foot of the Kenai Peninsula.

Eyak

The Eyak culture represents an older form of Northwest

Coast culture and suggests what may have been characteristic in northern Tlingit territory before historical changes occurred, particularly influences from more southerly Tlingit cultures.³⁴ In the eighteenth century, the Eyak territory extended along the coast of the Gulf of Alaska between the Chugach Eskimo in Prince William Sound and the Tlingit-Athapaskan people of Dry Bay. Many place names from Cordova to Cape Suckling are Chugach in origin, while those further east are often Eyak or Tlingit translations, which suggests prehistoric cultural distributions. In the early nineteenth century, much Tlingit influence was spread westward from Dry Bay and a more Tlingitized Eyak occupied the coast from Yakutat to Controller Bay, while a more traditional Eyak population had already pushed deeper into Chugach territory to the Copper River and as far as Eyak village near the present town of Cordova.

In the nineteenth century, the Eyak formed four regional groups that were geographical, not tribal or political, sub-divisions: those living in the Cordova-Copper River area, in Controller Bay, near Cape Yakataga and around Yakutat Bay. Each of these groups was associated with one or more villages. The Eyak of Cordova were the more purely Eyak and inhabited their own village ("Eyak"), while those in Yakutat have become completely Tlingitized. Within this area, 47 sites have been identified that were at one time occupied by the Eyak.³⁵ The Eyak language is related to the proto-Athapaskan family; there is only one speaker presently alive.

Salmon (five species) was the most important food in the Eyak economy. They also caught halibut, sand sharks, trout, whitefish, and eulachon, and gathered shellfish. Seal and sea otter were the only sea mammals hunted; they hunted harbor and hair seals but were afraid of fur seals. Mountain goat and bear (brown and black) were the most valuable land animals hunted by the Eyak. They took beaver, fox, lynx, mink, martin, muskrat, weasel and ermine, as well as ptarmigan, grouse, swan, and several species of ducks and geese. The Eyak built wooden dugout canoes: small ones were used for sea otter hunting, fishing, and hunting seals, while larger craft were used exclusively for transportation. They also purchased kayaks from the Chugach for use in sea otter hunting, while under Russian influence.

The Eyak had a similar concept of territorial rights as the Chugach, that is, hunting and fishing places were not used or claimed exclusively by any one group. There were no exclusive family, moiety or village rights over fish camps and streams, although in a few instances individual families did claim certain places for

setting salmon or seal nets. The Eyak lived in rectangular houses built of hemlock planks laid in a structure of four corner houses posts, with two more on either side of the door, and roofing planks laid over a structure of poles and covered in bark. They had both single family and communal houses.

Each village also had two ceremonial potlatch houses, one for each moiety. All the Eyak potlatch houses had names (such as "Goose House," "Raven House," "Skeleton House"), most of which correspond with Tlingit names for houses in southeast Alaska. The potlatch was primarily a moiety ceremony; and the principal activities were feasting and distribution of gifts. Potlatches were held on four occasions: to dedicate a new house, to mourn those slain in battle, to commemorate a death, and to honor visitors.

The Eyak are divided into two exogamous, matrilineal moieties, the Eagles and the Ravens, but there was no formal subdivision of the moiety into smaller groups such as clans or house groups.³⁶ Both moieties were represented in each village. Each moiety was headed by a chief; one of them was also recognized as the head of the village or group while the other was a moiety leader. Below the head chief was a sub-chief in each moiety. The chief commanded war parties, led hunting parties, and was regarded as the richest and strongest man in the village. Eyak society was divided into three strata: chiefs and their families, commoners and slaves. Slaves were captives taken in war, or offspring of the same. Most of the Eyak wars were with the Chugach; and all of the slaves of the Eyak were Chugach.

Kenaitze Dena'ina Athapaskan

In the upper Kenai Peninsula, archaeological sites on the Kenai River and in Turnagain Arm show affinities with both earlier and later Eskimo traditions, and indicate that this area was part of the prehistoric Alutiq culture area for two thousand years, at least until the fourteenth century A.D. However, by the time of the earliest contact with westerners in the eighteenth century, the upper Kenai Peninsula area was settled by Dena'ina Athapaskan Indians. The traditional history recounts that the Dena'ina migrated from the east, in the direction of Copper River.³⁷ On the northern Kenai Peninsula, they inhabited the coastal area at the mouths of rivers in the west during the summer, where they pursued salmon and marine resources, but during the winter they moved inland in search of caribou and small land mammals.

The Dena'ina are sub-divided into seven geographical

groups across their territory, which extends from Seldovia on southwestern Kenai Peninsula north and westward around the drainages of Cook Inlet and includes Lake Clark and the western half of the Lake Iliamna area. Of interest here is the Kenaitze subdivision, which inhabited the western portion of the Kenai Peninsula north of Kachemak Bay as far as Turnagain Arm, including the interior country of Tustumena, Skilak and Kenai Lakes and the Kenai and Russian Rivers. Mountain passes provided passage from the Kenaitze area to the country of the Chugach Eskimo in the Seward area, between whom there was considerable trade. There was also extensive visiting and some intermarriage between the Kachemak subdivision and the Alutiiq of the southern Kenai Peninsula and western Prince William Sound. The Dena'ina were frequently at war with the Koniag Alutiiq.

The Dena'ina regional groups were comprised of several villages, with at least one recognized as the principal village. In 1805, when Lisiansky visited Cook Inlet, he noted there were 14 settlements and about 3,000 inhabitants in the area.³⁸ The principal Kenaitze Dena'ina settlement was at Kenai; other villages were located at Anchor Point, Ninilchik, Kasilof, Skittok (near Kenai), Chinila (also near Kenai), Skilak (south side of Skilak Lake), Titukilsk (near Nikishka), Nikishka, and Kultuk (near Nikishka). Townsend identifies 17 former Dena'ina communities in the Kenai region.³⁹ Their settlements were located both inland and along the shores of Cook Inlet on or near the outlets of rivers.

During the winter, the Kenaitze Dena'ina collected themselves into villages located in the forest away from the coast. Villages ranged in size from one to 10 or more communal houses, each comprised of about four or five families. They were semi-subterranean structures with walls of whole or split spruce logs and roofs of split logs covered with moss, sod and dirt. Sleeping compartments were built adjoining and a bath house was attached to the main room. In the spring, summer and fall, when the Kenaitze relocated to fish camps along the shores and rivers of the western Kenai Peninsula, the Dena'ina inhabited their smoke houses. Temporary shelters used in hunting expeditions are made from lashing together of alders covered with bark or skins. The Indians constructed small birch bark canoes, and also adopted the kayak and umiak from the Eskimo. Dugouts were used for transporting dried food from fish camps and log rafts for crossing rivers.

The Kenaitze are adapted to the land environment. Salmon was the most important component of their economy, and land mammals were also fundamental

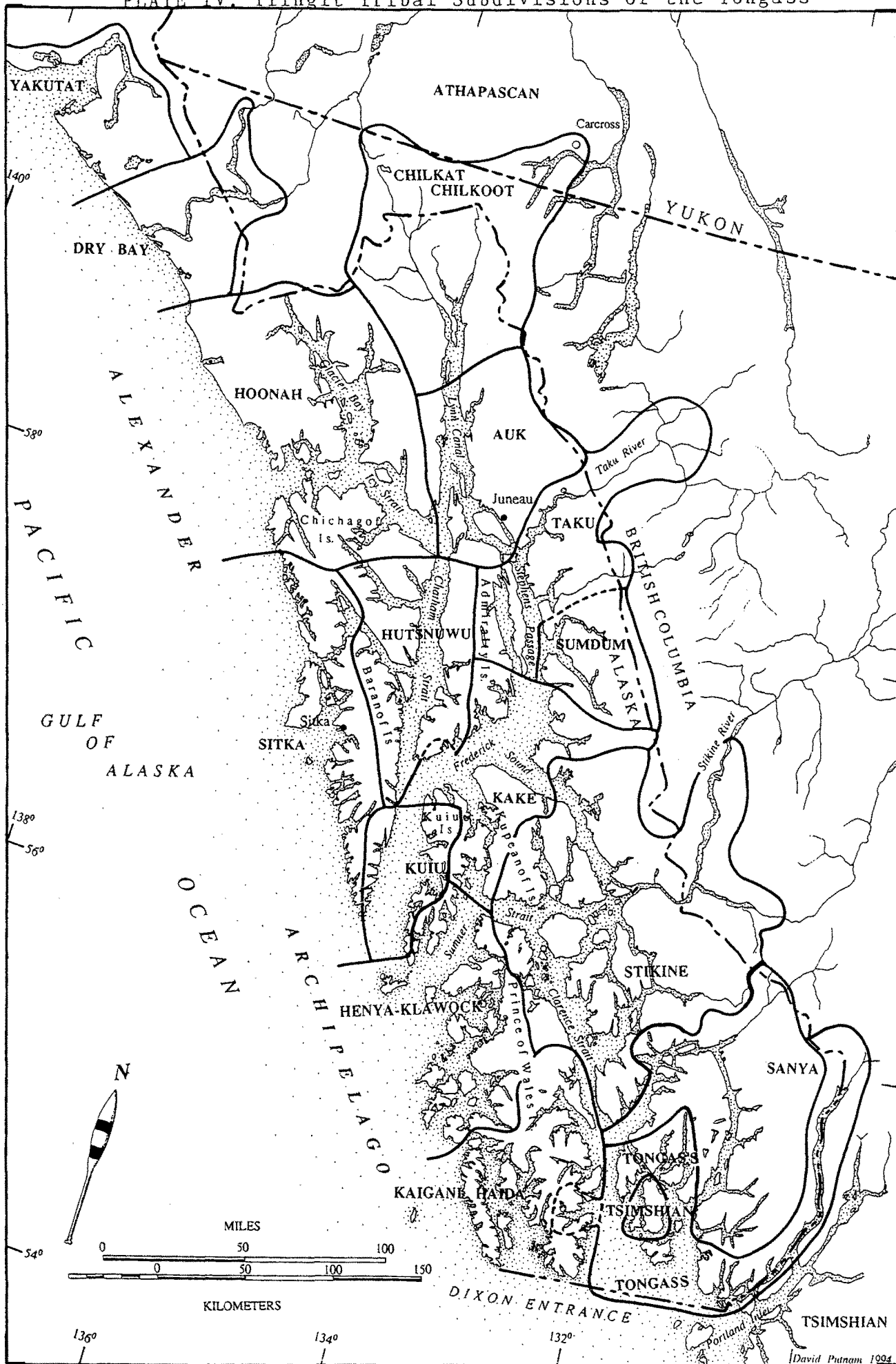
especially during the winter season. They harvested all five species of salmon, as well as trout, herring, catfish, eulachon and tomcod. Land mammals were also significant, including caribou, moose, mountain sheep, black and brown bear, beaver, porcupine, rabbit, marmot, lynx, fox, ermine, marten, mink, tree squirrel, land otter and wolverine. Birds included species of duck, goose, swan, loon, ptarmigan, grouse, eagle and owl, as well as bird eggs. Clams and crabs were taken from the beach; the only sea mammals were hair (harbor) seals and beluga whales, which were hunted in the rivers. Berries, inner bark and other plant and vegetable foods were also part of the diet.

The Dena'ina are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties that are unnamed. These are further divided into about 15 named matrilineal clans.⁴⁰ Each village had one or more rich men who were also the most prestigious persons in their lineage and considered to be the headman of their respective kin group. Apparently the most prominent headman was considered village chief. The headman functioned as the center of a redistributive system, providing support to the aged and orphaned, care for the welfare of the group, significant ability in subsistence and war expeditions, and general counsel and advice, and receiving in exchange assistance in hunting, fishing, trapping and manufacture of trade goods. The society consisted of two strata: wealthy families and those of little wealth and prestige who were attached to their more wealthy relatives. Slaves were obtained by rich men in trade or acquired in battles. Dena'ina potlatches are essentially moiety ceremonies given to honor recently deceased individuals. These are characterized by feasting, the distribution of gifts, and the repayment of mortuary workers. Smaller feasts were given to honor living persons. There is conflicting evidence with regard to the non-exclusivity of individual, clan or moiety hunting territories and fishing sites.

Tongass Region

The Tongass National Forest extends the full length of the southeast region, 500 miles from Yakutat Bay in the north to Dixon Entrance in the south. This region lies at the northern end of the traditional Northwest Coast culture area, one of the most developed maritime cultures of the American coast. Heavily forested with hemlock, spruce and cedar, the coastal fringe and islands of this archipelago is truly a rain forest: the average annual rainfall in most communities is over 120 inches per year (Ketchikan, the highest, has 162). There are nearly 11,000 miles of shoreline among the coast and islands, and in most areas majestic mountains rise from the tidewater. On the mainland, in

PLATE IV. Tlingit Tribal Subdivisions of the Tongass



addition to steep slopes, three large rivers, numerous glaciers, and icefields dominate the landscape. Rich and varied wildlife and fish resources are found throughout the region, and they are accessible only by boat or plane except in localized areas. Tourism, recreation, logging, sport and commercial fishing and hunting, and subsistence hunting, fishing and gathering are among the uses of the forest.

Prehistory of the Tlingit People

There are two major maritime cultural traditions associated with the Tongass region. The earliest culture, which Stanley D. Davis (*Handbook of North American Indians*) calls the Paleomarine tradition, existed from 11000 to 6500 years ago, while the second, which is related to the traditional Northwest Coast cultural pattern, was present from about 5000 years ago to contact with Europeans and the historic period. Davis identifies a transitional stage between the two, dating from 6500-5000 years ago, whereas Arndt et al. argue that the archeological data is insufficient to conclude that the transition was a gradual development or a more sudden cultural shift from the early to the late culture period.⁴¹

Although the oldest documented sites are from 10,000 years ago, it is possible that the first peopling of the coast occurred 12-13,000 years ago when the environment was free of ice; the evidence of earliest human occupation is believed to be destroyed by fluctuating sea levels. The Paleomarine culture was a well-developed microblade and core tradition that also included cobble tools and cores, and an economic strategy focused on coastal and marine resources. The principal sites for this distinctive microblade industry are the Ground Hog Bay 2 site on the mainland shore of Icy Strait, the Hidden Falls site on Baranof Island, Chuck Lake and Rice Creek on Heceta Island, and the Irish Creek site on the west side of Kupreanof Island. This tradition corresponds with a similar lithic assemblage documented for the northern coastal region of British Columbia. Evidence of marine mammal, fish, shellfish, waterfowl and land mammal resources are associated at some of the sites, indicating a coastal-marine adaptation.

Between 6500 and 5000 years ago, the region underwent climatic change, and the new culture that emerged by the latter date reflects an adaptation to new and more stable environmental conditions, particularly stabilization of shorelines and river drainages, that were conducive to an increase in the productivity of salmon runs associated with the classic traditional Northwest Coast way of life. The emergence of larger, winter

villages resulted in massive midden accumulations which clearly distinguish sites of the later period from earlier stages. A corresponding change in technology to ground stone (slate) and bone, complex human burials, specialized subsistence camps and fortifications also characterize this period. Davis, who calls this the Developmental Northwest Coast Stage, identifies early, middle and late phases of this period. The late phase, from A.D. 1000 to European contact, is characterized by a move to larger structures associated with winter villages, sites used for defensive purposes, and use of native copper and other materials for items of technology as well as personal adornment (such as bracelets, necklaces, pendants, pins and beads). This sequence seems to correspond with de Laguna's impression, based on extensive prehistoric and historic excavations in Angoon and Yakutat, "that a good deal of Northwest Coast culture is of relatively recent growth and elaboration."⁴²

The Aboriginal Cultures of the Tongass Region

Tlingit Indians

At the time of the arrival of white settlers, the Tlingit Indians were divided into fourteen tribal subdivisions, or kwan. From the north, these divisions are the Yakutat, Chilkat/Chilkoot, Hoonah, Auk, Taku, Sumdum, Hutsnuwu, Sitka, Kake, Kuiu, Stikine, Henya, Sanya and Tongass (see map). There were 10-15,000 Tlingit at the time of contact. Together with the Kaigani Haida, who pushed their way into the southern Tlingit area in the eighteenth century, these kwan used and occupied all of the southeastern region, with the exception of the steeper mountain slopes and tops, at the time of first contacts with whites.⁴³ The aboriginal possession of the lands and waters of southeast Alaska, including trade routes into the interior across the Canadian border, were recognized by the U.S. Court of Claims in 1959 (discussed below).⁴⁴

The Tlingit kwan are geographical groupings of smaller political divisions, or clans, which lived together in a common area, intermarried, and cooperated for defensive purposes. De Laguna identifies 74 clans of the Tlingit kwan.⁴⁵ In the nineteenth century, members of the kwan would congregate in larger communities for the winter season. Each kwan is associated with one or more principal villages that contained large clan houses constructed of hand-hewn spruce planks. These traditional villages were often located on a shoreline with houses arranged in a line facing a landing area for canoes. During the spring, summer and

fall, community members would usually disperse to smaller villages, hunting and fish camps depending upon the availability of resources and clan relationships.

Annual runs of salmon were the primary determinant of the pattern of transhumance; all five species of salmon were harvested, as well as eulachon, herring, halibut, cod, trout and several types of shellfish. The most important sea mammals in the diet were seals (harbor and fur), but sea lion, sea otter, and porpoise were also taken. Bear, the most important land mammal, were hunted along with deer, mountain goat and sheep; small animals and fur-bearers such as rabbits, porcupine, marmots, mink, muskrat, and marten were also acquired, along with birds (including species of duck, geese, and grouse). Berries, roots and bark and other vegetable foods were gathered.

The Tlingit are divided into two exogamous moieties, Raven and Eagle (called Wolf in the south), that functioned as reciprocal social and ceremonial groupings. The fundamental unit was the matrilineal clan, which was the political, land-owning and property-holding group of the tribe. Each village was comprised of two or more clans representing opposite moieties; each clan was usually subdivided into clan segments (lineages) or house-groups. Tlingit society was comprised of nobles (wealthy and influential families), commoners and slaves; and social rank was very important. The named house groups or lineages and clans in each village differed by wealth and status, and within the village the leader of the leading house of each clan was considered the head of the clan. The heads of the houses and clans were stewards of their group's property, which included crests, ceremonial regalia, songs, names, stories, trade routes, and hunting and fishing sites. These individuals often decided when to hunt and fish, embark on trading expeditions or raids, exact payment or retribution for a wrong, or host an elaborate and expensive ceremony in honor of deceased maternal ancestors.

The coastal Tlingit engaged in voluminous trade with neighboring tribes including the Eyak, Athapaskan, Tsimshian and Haida. The northern Chilkat and Chilkoot built and maintained trails to the interior Athapaskans and the Yakutat Bay Tlingit, and similar networks with the interior were developed by the Taku and Stikine subdivisions. Large canoes constructed or acquired in trade were used for extensive marine travel and interchange among coastal groups from the Chilkat to the north to the southern Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian groups; Tsimshian carvings and slaves were among the most prized goods acquired in trade or

captured in war. European trade stimulated the development of Tlingit culture and art after the introduction of iron and steel carving tools and copper sheeting. Several Tlingit Kwan, particularly the Chilkat and the Stikine, became large, powerful and wealthy in the nineteenth century through their monopolistic control of lucrative trade with the interior Athapaskan groups.

The Tlingit are known for their elaborate ceremonies or feasts which are given at funerals and memorials to the dead. Structured by moiety and clan affiliations among related persons, the potlatch could go on for four to eight days; it involved feasts, songs and dances, the recitation of clan names and stories, the distribution of food and gifts to members of the opposite moiety (in payment for funeral services and contributions), and the use of clan heirlooms including crest hats, blankets, vests and ceremonial items such as speakers' staffs, drums and dancing poles. Such ceremonies also increased the prestige of the living, and might be associated with the construction and dedication of a new house. The display of crests and other clan property, including the recitation of names and clan histories, entailed payments to members of the opposite moiety who served as witnesses validating the right to hold and use the property.

The clan owned the most important property including hunting territory, fishing grounds, salmon streams, clan crests, ceremonial clothing and artifacts, shamanistic practices, names, songs, stories, and trading routes. A well-developed system of property rights and inheritance identified which family groups owned specific sites and tracts of land and who had access to clan land and property. This property was administered by the chief on behalf of the clan; he was the steward and responsible for its protection, use and upkeep. The clan chief, in consultation with the council, would decide when salmon streams could be used or when to hold the complex, competitive memorial feasts at which the clan's crests and other ceremonial property would be displayed. They would organize war parties to defend against incursions into clan territory, and launch attacks against other groups. Often the chief would trade on behalf of the clan.⁴⁶

Kaigani Haida

In the early eighteenth century a group of Haida apparently emigrated from the Dedans area of Graham Island (northernmost island of the Queen Charlotte Islands) to southern Prince of Wales Island, displacing the Tlingit residing there. This branch of the Haida is known as the Kaigani Haida, or simply Kaigani, to the early traders in the area. To the casual observer there

was little outward difference between the Tlingit and the Kaigani Haida, for the latter adapted to the different mix and availability of salmon and other fish, sea and land mammals, and forest resources characteristic of the southern Alexander Archipelago. The Kaigani Haida were also heavily influenced by Tlingit culture after the invasion, particularly in aspects of the social system. In one aspect the Haida appear to be unique on the Northwest Coast—their language has no demonstrable genetic relationships to any other language.⁴⁶

The Wetalh (Tsetsaut)

The Wetalh were a band of Athapaskan Indians occupying the Unuk River drainage and the landmass between Portland Canal and Behm Canal in southern Southeast Alaska. Numbering some 500 in the early nineteenth century, their population was seriously reduced in the later 1800s by feuds with the neighboring Tlingit, with whom they had previously been on good terms. Quite possibly they were the victims of Tlingit population shifts ultimately caused by the Haida occupation of southern Prince of Wales Island. By the early twentieth century the Wetalh merged with the Tsimshian and effectively ceased to exist as a separate cultural entity.⁴⁸

Wetalh economy differed sharply from that of the neighboring Tlingit: while eulachon and salmon were taken in season, the mainstay of the food economy was land mammals, particularly bear, mountain goat, porcupine, and marmot. Most articles of clothing were fashioned from marmot or mountain goat hide.⁴⁹

Dwellings were temporary in nature, consisting of an A-frame of poles propped near the base of a large tree; the poles were covered with bark. Entrance was through a side door, or through the smoke hole when the winter snows became too deep. Chief modes of transportation were snowshoes and cedar bark canoes.⁵⁰

The Arrival of White Settlers (Explorers, Traders, Miners and Fishermen) and Development of New Towns in the Chugach and Tongass Regions

The Russian Period: 1741-1867

The first landfall by Europeans in Alaska occurred in July 1741. Crewmen from Vitus Bering's Russian ship, the *St. Peter*, went ashore on Kayak and Wingham Islands east of Prince William Sound, and others from Chirikov's *Saint Paul* landed on Chichagof Island north of present Sitka, Alaska. Evidence of human use and

occupation, including homes, storehouses, and the remains of a meal and warm cooking stones, were discovered indicating that the inhabitants fled at their approach. These were Chugach Eskimo.⁵¹ Russian claims to the discovery and ownership of Alaska are based principally on the results of this expedition.

The sea otter skins brought back by the survivors of the voyages (Bering himself perished on the journey) lured the fur-hungry Russians into American waters beginning as early as 1743. The taking of hostages, enforcement of tribute, and outrages against the Aleuts became customary in the expansion of the *promyshleniki* and traders into the northwestern Pacific country. By 1760, the Russians reached Unalaska, and by 1763, the first Russian expedition landed at Kodiak.

Other European exploration and trading expeditions to Alaska commenced in 1775 in response to the expanding Russian activity in the northern Pacific. In that year, the Spaniards in Mexico organized the first European expedition to southeast Alaska during which Mt. Edgecumbe was first given a Spanish name. This expedition brought the first of western diseases — smallpox — to the Tlingit; this factor (epidemics of infectious diseases introduced by Europeans) was the primary cause of the decimation of Native populations through the next 150 years, as high as 50 percent in many areas, and probably caused more disruption to traditional Native social systems than any other influence.

In 1778, the English Capt. James Cook journeyed through southeast Alaska, giving Mt. Edgecumbe its current English name. He entered Prince William Sound which he also named. Cook remained there eight days and encountered Chugach Eskimo in Port Etches (Hinchinbrook Island) and Snug Corner Cove (Port Fidalgo).⁵² He sailed on to Cook Inlet where he met both Alutiiq and Kenaitze people.⁵³ A second Spanish expedition to Alaska in 1779 resulted in further exploration in Prince William Sound, during which Bodega Y Quadra also visited Port Etches (Nuchek) and surmised the existence of a large river in the eastern region of the sound.

The mouth of this large river was discovered in 1783 by a Russian trading expedition under Zaikov, which explored Prince William Sound and the waters near Kayak Island after Zaikov learned of Cook's discovery of the Sound.⁵⁴ On Kayak Island, Zaikov met a Chugach hunting party from Nuchek, and his men communicated with another group of Nuchek residents at the mouth of the Copper River who informed them of

other tribes in the larger area including the Koniag, Kenaitze, Ahtna Athapaskan, Eyak and the Tlingit. While Zaikov was spared, the Chugach retaliated against the leader of a sister Russian ship for robbing them of furs and debauching their women, by killing him and some of his men. The Russians found that the Chugach were more warlike and prone to defend their property rights than the western Natives (Koniag and Aleut).⁵⁵

Meanwhile in 1783, another Russian company under Shelikov forcibly established the first permanent settlement in Alaska on Kodiak Island at Three Saints Bay. Two years later, Shelikov sent a party of *promyshleniki* together with Aleut and Koniag hunters to Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound to prospect for sea otter and attempt to establish good relationships with the inhabitants; and they returned with 20 hostages from Cook Inlet as insurance. In the following year, Shelikov established a fortified trading settlement at English Bay, named Alexandrovsk. In 1788, another group of *promyshleniki* and Native hunters from Three Saints Bay under Ismailov visited Kayak Island and the vicinity, before proceeding on to Yakutat Bay, in search of sea otter. This party reported the Eyak living near the mouth of the Copper River. By this time, the Russians were feeling the effects of new competition with British ships in Prince William Sound and Cook Inlet.

The successful transport and trade of Alaskan furs (particularly sea otter) to China (Macao) in 1779 by Cook's surviving officers opened the door to the lucrative Oriental fur market for British and American trading ships, where previously an overland route through Siberia controlled exclusively by the Russians was the exclusive channel. Soon, English ships from India and Great Britain, and American ships from the United States, launched fur trading expeditions to the Pacific northwest coast. In 1786, four British ships sailed to Prince William Sound from India; one of these was forced to overwinter in the Sound near the village of Tatitlek. In the same year, Capts. Dixon and Portlock sailed from England to the Sound, where in the following year Dixon gave much needed supplies to one of the overwintering ships from India under the condition that it leave the area promptly.

By this time, the fur trade was in decline in the Cook Inlet area and the Tanaina were acting as middlemen in the European trade, obtaining furs of land animals from the interior.⁵⁶ Dixon proceeded southeast to Yakutat Bay and then to Sitka Sound for more trade, this time with Tlingit Indians, while Portlock (who named Port Etches while he stayed at Nuchek) traded in Prince William

Sound and Cook Inlet for the month of July before following, sailing to the west coast of Chichagof Island to barter with the Tlingit in what became known as Portlock Harbor. In 1788, William Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company also sailed to Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound, and then on to Cross Sound, on a trading expedition.

Other nationalities were also beginning to enter the area. A French vessel under LaPerouse anchored in Lituya Bay for the month of July in 1786 where he traded and bartered with the Tlingit, whom he observed to be shrewd traders and the crafters of very fine art. Another French ship landed in Sitka Sound in 1791. French accounts describe the rapidity with which European trade goods had become dispersed among the tribes, resulting in a higher and more specialized demand for trade goods. The scarcity of furs was by this time affecting the profitability of trade as the Indians were demanding (and receiving) higher prices than previously.

The United States of America, having just won recognition in the Treaty of Paris in 1783, will very soon become a factor in North Pacific trade. The first Americans began to appear in the northwest in 1789, when two ships journeyed to coastal regions untouched by the Europeans. American presence in the region would not become significant until the next century. The Spanish government sent three more expeditions in quick succession into the northern area (Prince William Sound and Kodiak) in 1788, '90 and '91 to press its territorial claims, but they were politely rebuffed by the Russians.

In 1792, after ordering the relocation of the principal Shelikov company settlement to the present site of Kodiak City, Baranof made his first venture east to Prince William Sound and to Nuchek Island, where he came under attack by a raiding party of Eyak and Yakutat Tlingit. Two years later, Baranof sent another party to the Copper River, where they discovered a large Eyak village (perhaps Alaganik, according to de Laguna).⁵⁷ Baranof also established a shipyard in 1792 at Voskressenski, or Sunday Harbor, in Resurrection Bay for building, repairing and launching vessels. He hired an English ship-builder and a total of three ships were built in this yard with Alaskan timber.

During this period, the rival Lebedev Company was also operating in Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound. The company established three posts in Cook Inlet: in 1786 at Kasilof, called St. George; in 1891 on the Kenai River, named St. Nicholas; and the third higher up in

the inlet on the western shore. In 1793, the company opened a station in Prince William Sound on Nuchek Island at Port Etches, named Fort Constantine.

Authority over the Cook Inlet posts was assumed by Baranof in 1794, when he was able to smooth over a planned uprising against the Russians organized by the Kenaitze from Skilak Lake in response to offenses against their people by employees of the Lebedev company. The effrontery and crimes of the rival company had so incensed the Kenaitze Dena'ina that the Skilak Lake group was reportedly forming a union with the western Cook Inlet Tanaina bands and the Chugach to drive the Russians from the Kenai. 1794 was also the year that Vancouver visited Prince William Sound, determined that Cook Inlet was not a river, and documented the portage from Turnagain Arm to Resurrection Bay (Seward). Visiting Nuchek in 1796, on his return from Yakutat, Baranof succeeded in persuading the majority of the Lebedev Company's employees to work for the Shelikov Company.⁵⁸

The elimination of Baranof's competition was sanctioned by the Russian government in 1799, when the Russian-American Company (formerly the Shelikov Company) was granted a complete monopoly over all Russian enterprises in Alaska for 20 years. The decree authorized the company to conscript Aleut for three years of service to the company, and the Natives of Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound were required to submit a yearly tribute in animal skins. Nuchek became the principal Chugach community in the sound, when it was the sea otter hunting and trading center for the region until after the Alaskan purchase in 1867. The Russians maintained the post at Nuchek until it was taken over by an American trader following the American purchase of the territory. However, the focus of their subsequent mercantile activity was in southeast Alaska, where there was greater opportunity.⁵⁹

Under orders from Baranof, the Russians first took their Aleut and Koniag hunters, nearly 1500 strong, to Yakutat Bay in 1794 and '95 and where, in 1796, Baranof established a convict colony called "New Russia." The Russianized hunters took three thousand sea otter pelts from the Yakutat and Lituya Bays in these three years. Leading another party of Aleut hunters in 1799 on an expedition of further expansion into southeast Alaska, Baranof was attacked by the Tlingit in Controller Bay as he was making his way to Yakutat, when bad weather forced him to the beach. He travelled on to Sitka Sound, where he bartered successfully for the right to establish a fortified trading post among the Sitka Tlingit. The Tlingit soon grew

dissatisfied with the arrangement, particularly with the efficiency with which the Aleut hunters killed the sea otter, seal and other fur-bearing animals in Tlingit territory. In 1801, the Sitka kwan were joined by allies from Yakutat, Chilkat, Angoon and Sitka and they attacked the Russian post, Fort St. Michael, killing 150 and burning the fort and a ship. Encouraged by the success of their countrymen at Sitka, the Yakutat Tlingit attacked an Aleut hunting party and the Russian manager of the colony, and Indians from Kake and Kuiu villages ambushed an Aleut hunting expedition of 90 baidarkas in Keku Straits and killed all but the Russian leader (Urbanof) and 20 Aleuts.⁶⁰

With the company's recently granted monopoly at stake, the decline of fur-bearing animals in the northern Alutiiq region, and the need to establish a settlement in southeast Alaska to justify Russian possessory claims against competition from European and American traders, Baranof moved in retaliation against the Tlingit. In 1804, he set out for Sitka in several ships and, along the way, razed and burned villages of the Kake and Kuiu people as punishment for their attack on Urbanof's party. Baranof was wounded in the ensuing fight at Sitka, and he prevailed only with the assistance of the Russian ship *Neva* which bombarded the newly constructed Tlingit fort and caused the warriors to flee across the island by night.⁶¹

According to a Native account of the battle, the Tlingit decided to withdraw only after they discovered their supplies of gunpowder were exhausted, and a lucky cannon shot destroyed a war canoe filled with their ablest warriors, leaving no survivors. Baranof erected a new stockade, which he named New Archangel, and several years later in 1808 moved the company headquarters from Kodiak. The Tlingit built a new fort at Point Craven, where the residents numbered between 1,300 and 1,400. In 1806, 2,000 Tlingit gathered in 400 boats to re-take Sitka, including members of the Sitka, Chilkat, Auk, and Stikine kwan, but the battle was forestalled by a negotiated peace with the Chilkat chief, and others who followed his example.⁶²

Sitka subsequently developed as the principal land-based trading center in Alaska. After the sea otter reached near extinction in the 1820s, the Russian colony grew dependent upon the Tlingit as a source of land mammal furs that replaced the sea otter trade, as well as a source of supplies.⁶³ A market grew up in Sitka through which the Tlingit supplied many of the needs of the fort and provided them with trade goods. The ready access to trade goods through this market freed the local Tlingit to trade furs with the European

and American ships that regularly plied the waters of southeast, which further reduced the profitability of the Russian company. The Tlingit were skilled and demanding traders, and when they could not get what they thought was their due from the European traders, they would travel by large canoe to Fort Simpson on the Nass River and trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. They also went further south, to posts in Victoria or on the Columbia River. Tlingit living on the Stikine, Taku and Chilkat Rivers garnered great wealth serving as middlemen in the trade with interior tribes, which increased in significance as the value of land mammals rose after the demise of the sea otter.⁶⁴

The peace between the Russians and their Aleut conscripts, on the one hand, and the Tlingit kwan was never guaranteed, and the Russians remained in need of protection of their stockade for nearly their entire tenure. In 1852, for example, after the Stikine were attacked by the Sitka kwan during a peace ceremony, the Stikines destroyed the Russian hospital at the hot springs south of town in retaliation, since the Russians had made no effort to warn them or prevent the attack. There was an outbreak of armed conflict between the Russians and Tlingit in 1855, and the Sitka kwan took possession of a church erected for their use outside the stockade from which they fired on the Russian fort. The Tlingit lost 60 men before they laid down their arms. Outside of Sitka, the Russians rarely ventured beyond the safety of their ships. They operated a post at Wrangell from 1834-1839, after which it was turned over to the Hudson's Bay Company until 1849, at which time the British withdrew in part due to continuing hostility from the Stikine.⁶⁵ The Chilkat likewise forcibly protected their trade monopoly, destroying a newly established Hudson's Bay Company post along their interior trade route in Canada on the Pelly River (Fort Selkirk) in 1852. Another post was briefly established on Tongass Island, which the Russians hoped would serve to demarcate the southward extension of the Russian-American territory, and the Hudson's Bay Company also had a post on the Taku Harbor, for a time.

Although the first Russian priests appeared in the colony as early as 1794, there was little activity east of the Alaska Peninsula until the early 1830s, when Baron von Wrangell brought Father Veniaminov from Unalaska to Sitka. The smallpox epidemic which swept through Alaska between 1835 and '39, and claimed about half of the Tlingit population in Sitka, left the inoculated Russians untouched. This occurrence greatly increased the stature of the Russian Orthodox priest in Sitka and aided the missionization process, which

proceeded more slowly in outlying areas. The first priest to serve Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound and the interior took up residence at Fort St. Nicholas (Kenai) in 1845, and through missionary efforts spread the faith east through Prince William Sound as far as Copper River where the Eyak were reportedly nominally Russian Orthodox in the 1850s.⁶⁶ The Russian influence was strong in the community at Nuchek, the principal settlement in Prince William Sound during this period. For example, the Russians required the Chugach residents to perform work and service at a fixed pay rate of a nickel a day. Those who were slow or recalcitrant were whipped, and a penal colony was established nearby.⁶⁷ A Russian chapel and priest ministered to the converts in Nuchek and the surrounding villages; in 1860 the Russian Orthodox Church estimated there were 456 Christians among the Chugach, which may have been their entire population in the sound (as compared with only 447 Tlingit in southeast).⁶⁸ Under this influence, the Chugach became more peaceful, and the Eyak and their more Tlingitized relatives moved into what was formerly Chugach territory along the mainland from Controller Bay into eastern Prince William Sound, as described previously. Petroff reported in 1880 Nuchek continued to serve as an important trading center that was visited by Tlingit and Ahtna Athapaskan Indians, and the Russian chapel there was supported by donations from surrounding villages. He also observed the Russian church and missionary that was active in Kenai at this time.⁶⁹

The American Period: 1867-1910

At the time of the transfer of Alaska to the United States, there were at least 35-40 Tlingit and Haida villages and towns in southeast Alaska. In 1838, Veniaminov listed a population of about 6,000 for the Tlingit, which he enumerated after the smallpox epidemic of 1833, and reported that the figure was 10,000 prior to that event. U.S. census figures from 1880-1910 indicate a decrease from 6,431 to 4,458 in the Indian population in southeast during this period; there was also a decline in the number of traditional Tlingit villages and towns, and the beginning of a significant migration trend from Indian villages to newly established white towns.⁷⁰

In the Chugach region, Veniaminov reported 471 Chugach, 150 Eyak and 1628 Tanaina Athapaskan. In 1880, the federal census reported there were 500 Chugach in four villages in the sound: Chenega, Kaniklik, Tatitlek and Nuchek. The Eyak had two main villages, Eyak (near Cordova) and Alaganik (about 20 miles east on the Copper River delta), which in the

1880s had a total population of about 200. The mixed Eyak and Tlingit village of Chilkat in Controller Bay had about 100 inhabitants. Petroff also reported 12 Kenaitze villages.⁷¹

Following the purchase of Russian-America by the United States, there was no provision for civil government. As in one of the western territories in the contiguous states, the U.S. Army was sent to maintain law and order and protect American citizens from the Indian and Eskimo, whom military authorities believed might rise up in opposition to the new settlers expected to come into the territory. To this end, Army forts were established at Sitka, Wrangell, and Tongass in southeast, and at Kenai and Kodiak in southcentral Alaska, within a year or two of acquisition. These garrisons, with the exception of Sitka, were withdrawn by 1870 to fight Indian wars in the west.

Headquartered in Sitka, the Army was not shy about teaching the Natives a lesson. In demonstrations of military might and determination to enforce American law, two Native villages — Wrangell and Kake — were bombarded in 1869.⁷² These instances impressed upon the Tlingit people the power of the military to impose civil authority in specific cases. However, aside from these occurrences, the period of military administration (1867-84) has been characterized as an 'era of neglect' during which, at least in the first ten years after the purchase, there was negligible impact on the Tlingit and Haida Indians' use and possession of southeastern Alaska.⁷³

Beginning in Wrangell in the mid-1870s, the influx of white settlers into Alaska substantially altered the political landscape and settlement patterns by which the Indian and Eskimo had lived for centuries. The principal cause of this migration of settlers was economic: the availability of gold and other minerals, rich salmon stocks and extensive timber stands brought thousands of whites into southeastern Alaska and other regions. They established new towns, canneries, mines and industrial sites at many locations. In the 1870s, the rush for gold in Canada up the Stikine River brought more than a thousand miners, traders, merchants and laborers through Wrangell, and their effects on the local Indian community also attracted the first American missionaries to the state (1877). The first gold camp in Alaska was established in Alaska at Sumdum in 1878, and in the same year, the first salmon canneries were built at Klawock and Sitka. Two years later, the discovery of gold at Juneau resulted in the founding of the town of that name, and another discovery in 1887 across the channel led to the establishment of the city

of Douglas. The small community at Deishu (later renamed Haines), which began as a trading post and mission to the Chilkat and Chilkoot Indians in 1881, shifted among several canneries which operated in the area after 1884, became stabilized as a trade and support center for the Klondike stampede in 1897. Skagway also traces its beginning to this gold rush. The white town of Ketchikan places its start with fish saltery and cannery operations at the mouth of Ketchikan Creek starting in 1886-7. The incipient town of Petersburg was constructed as a fish cannery and sawmill which opened for operation in 1900. The town of Craig was similarly initiated as the site of a commercial saltery and cannery in about 1910-11.⁷⁴

Thousands of white miners were working the hard-rock gold deposits in Juneau and Douglas (Treadwell) in the 1880s and '90s. The mines became an employment opportunity that attracted Tlingit from the northern region. In Wrangell, the first sawmill began production in about 1890, and the Alaska Packers Association opened a cannery in 1893 using mainly imported labor. These industries were the economic mainstay of the white business community for many years. A large cannery and sawmill was erected in Ketchikan before the turn of the century, and by 1910-11, a rival cannery located at Loring (also operated by the Alaska Packers Association) had exhausted the massive run of pink salmon returning to Ketchikan Creek, the original impetus for white settlement at the town, with a fish trap anchored off the mouth of the creek. By the 1920s and '30s, Ketchikan became the hub of regional economic activity that centered on fishing and timber extraction. Petersburg also became the center of a localized commercial fishing industry during this period, and it was supported by the available timber supply. The fishery in the Haines area had declined in significance by the 1920s due to overfishing, but this community persisted as a supply and support center for the regional Native population as well as the Army post that had been established in the town.

The initial movements of Indians into the new communities took place as group movements. They occurred principally for economic reasons, although in some cases they were the result of the force of missionary and school personalities, and the desire to escape the constraints of tradition. Rogers has described these new communities as "non-indigenous" towns which, since their formation between 1804 (Sitka) and 1910, have become the principal towns and cities of the southeast region associated with the massive growth of the non-Native population in the region.⁷⁵ He uses census data to show the reorientation of Tlingit kwan to

these communities from traditional villages and seasonal settlements: the Sitka Indians becoming citizens of the white town of Sitka, the Stikine moving to Wrangell, the residents of Auk settlements moving to Juneau, Taku people to Douglas, the Tongass and Cape Fox people to Ketchikan and the Chilkat dividing themselves between Klukwan and Haines.

Although located in or near the site of Indian settlements, the towns that grew up at these locations were essentially white towns. The first legislation providing for a civil government in the territory, the Acts of 1884 and 1890, provided for the protection of areas used, occupied or claimed by Native Alaskans, but did not entail the legal rights of ownership to the aboriginal residents because they were not recognized as citizens.⁷⁶ Non-Natives were able to file for town and industrial sites without restriction and thereby acquire legal ownership of lands used for exploiting the mineral, fish and timber resources, or settled as villages and towns in service to these industries. Indians lost control of their land and resources and, as the settler population and industry grew, often found themselves excluded from their customary settlement, fishing and hunting areas. The new competition for valued resources severely restricted their traditional economy at these towns. The new towns were later organized formally with townsites and municipal governments, which occurred with little or no political participation by the local Indian residents. Alaska Natives did not gain citizenship until the mid-1920s, and their aboriginal title was not freely acknowledged until the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was passed in 1971, as described in the following chapters.

A few new Indian communities were also formed during this time at the urging of missionaries and school authorities. In 1887, the Tsimshians moved under the direction of the missionary William Duncan in a large group (800 strong) to Annette Island from Old Metlakatla in British Columbia, and in 1891 this land was set aside by Congress as a reservation. Saxman was a new community formed through the encouragement of the Presbyterian church and territorial school authorities in 1897; it was settled initially by the Cape Fox (Sanya) kwan. The first missionary was a Tsimshian minister and discontented former adherent of William Duncan. There was a consolidation of Haida communities into the new communities at Craig, Hydaburg and Ketchikan, and a movement from Old to New Kasaan. Hydaburg was a new settlement organized specifically for the Prince of Wales Island communities of Howkan and Klinquan by educational authorities; it was established by the Bureau of Education by

1911.⁷⁷

During this period, there was a significant Indian population which chose to remain in traditional villages at or near their original locations, including the communities of Yakutat, Klukwan, Hoonah, Angoon, Kake, Klawock and Kasaan. A cannery was started in Klawock in 1878, which attracted a Tlingit Indian population from traditional villages, principally Tuxekan, in the nearby area. A whaling station, which was soon converted to a factory manufacturing herring oil and fish guano, operated at Killisnoo, near the village of Angoon. When it ceased operation, the inhabitants returned to the village of Angoon.⁷⁷

There was a similar pattern of change in Prince William Sound and the Kenai Peninsula, except that it was delayed by a decade or two. After the transfer, the Russian post at Nuchek was taken over by an American trader, a small trading post was established at Katalla in Controller Bay, and Norwegians at Kayak Island and Chenega continued to offer local trading opportunities.⁷⁹ In 1889, four American salmon canneries were established, marking the first intensive contact of the Eyak with western culture: two were on Eyak Lake where Old Town (Cordova) would be founded (one of which was moved to Orca in 1895), and two were on Wingham Island in Controller Bay (one of these was moved to the Copper River delta in 1891). By 1900, the two principal Eyak villages were abandoned, the inhabitants destroyed by epidemics and degraded by the cannery experience, and the few remaining Eyak (about 60) lived at Old Town.⁸⁰

The four Chugach communities had a population of 317 Chugach, 54 creoles (of mixed European and Native ancestry), and nine whites in 1890.⁸¹ The hunting and trapping of fur-bearing animals, and the sale of fish (in Tatitlek and Chenega) provided the only source of revenue for these communities. In comparison, the 1890 cannery population totalled 423, which were mainly white and Chinese seasonal employees; the largest groups were at Odiak (Cordova) (273) and Wingham Island (150). By the end of the century, Kaniklik was abandoned and Chenega had become "the most important native settlement on the sound."⁸² Nuchek was left behind in the winter of 1929-30, after the old chief died and his survivors moved to Cordova.⁸³

Several white mining, fishing and railroad towns developed in the Chugach region shortly before and after the turn of the century. The Pacific Steam Whaling Company operated a cannery at Orca Inlet, near Cordova, in the 1890s, and others were located on Wingham Island

and in Controller Bay. Use of dynamite and other methods soon had a disastrous effect on the returning fish stocks near Cape Suckling.

Valdez had its start in 1897 as the terminus of a route to the interior gold fields in the Yukon (Klondike) and later the Fairbanks area, and the U.S. Army erected a post (Fort Liscum) before the turn of the century to serve in the construction of the overland telegraph to Nome and a trail, and later road, to Fairbanks that followed an Indian trail. Valdez was a participant in the early railroad speculations that occurred in the first decade of this century. By 1910, Valdez had a population of 810 while the surrounding district held nearly 5,000 inhabitants, mostly connected with the proposed railroad. The copper mining town of Ellamar, located near Tatitlek, was built on the site of a Native village in 1900.

In 1906, Cordova was chosen as the terminus and construction headquarters of a railroad from the Kennecott copper mine, and two years later the white town of Cordova was founded which grew to a population of more than a thousand in 1910.⁸⁴ Katalla, the site of coal mining claims and a competing railroad terminus to the Copper River (which lasted until a storm washed away an expensive breakwater), had first developed as a commercial salmon fishing site: there were 188 residents reported in the village, and 623 in the Kayak Island district as a whole, in 1910. This can be compared with 210 in the Prince William Sound district.

To the west, at the future town of Seward, another group of capitalists began construction of the Alaska Central Railroad in 1903, on a route to the Matanuska coal fields. This project was not successful until after the federal government authorized funding for its construction in the second "organic act" for Alaska passed in 1912. In 1910, there were 534 people reported living in Seward village.

Alutiiq villages of the Unegkurmiut group were formerly located in Day Harbor, Resurrection Bay (including one at or near the present town of Seward), Ayalik Bay, Two Arm Bay, Nuka Bay, Yalik Bay, Port Dick, and Rocky Bay.⁸⁵ According to Johnson, people from this region, as well as Prince William Sound communities at Tatitlek and Nuchek, had been migrating to English Bay since the early 1800s under the influence of Russian priests and fur traders.⁸⁶ Yalik, which had 32 Alutiiq residents in the 1880 census, was abandoned by 1890 at the encouragement of the Russian Orthodox missionary at Kenai, and the inhabitants migrated to Alexandrovsk (English Bay) on Cook Inlet.⁸⁷ In 1890, the only inhabitants of this region were a whiteman and his Native wife,

living in Resurrection Bay.

In Cook Inlet, a small Army garrison was stationed at Kenai from 1868-70. The Alaska Commercial Company took over the Russian post at Kenai after the Alaskan purchase, and in the 1870s and '80s began supplying miners and prospectors coming to the area. In 1880, the eight Kenai Dena'ina communities had a total population of 218 (Laida, Kassilof, Chkituk, Cherila, Skilak, Titukilsk, Nikishka, and Kultuk), while two creole communities (Ninilchik and Kenai) had 105 residents.⁸⁸ The upper Kenai River area was the traditional winter residence of the Kenaitze. They occupied the area in 1880 and continued there for the next 10-20 years, after which they maintained seasonal use of the area until about 1920. In the 1880s, one of the early prospectors set up a post on the Kenai River later known as Cooper Landing, where he traded with the Tanaina living in the area. In 1893, the first gold claims were filed on creeks flowing into Turnagain Arm near Hope, and in 1896 2000-2500 people came to work placer claims. After a drop off the following year, a secondary rush occurred in 1898 that brought 7-10,000 people to the Turnagain area.⁸⁹

Salmon canneries were established on the peninsula in the 1880s; the Tanaina sold fish to the canneries, but cannery work was not available to them until about 1915.⁹⁰ Kenai was the site of a large cannery employing about 50 whites and 80 Chinese; about 100 Tanaina (including residents of the former villages of Chkituk and Nikishka) and 50 creoles lived in Kenai and two small villages nearby in 1890. The Dena'ina hunted and trapped for revenue, but in 1890 they were severely hampered by the demise of the fur-bearing animal populations.⁹¹ The influx of white sport hunters and the hiring of Kenaitze as trophy hunters in support of this new activity provided some alternative opportunity to the decline in trapping after turn of the century, but this activity had an impact on the caribou, moose and bear populations and was another factor in the movement of the Dena'ina off the land and into the settlement at Kenai. The Kenaitze apparently established permanent residence at Kenai by 1900, although use of the upper Kenai area as a hunting and trapping area probably continued into the first or second decade of this century.⁹²

By the time the Tongass National Forest was created by executive order of the president, the Tlingit and Haida Indians were becoming a marginalized people forced into a second-class socioeconomic status by the new white settlers and the legal and governmental institutions they brought with them. As white settlers and commercial interests moved into the territory, they

utilized the resources as they found them, often taking over key areas for cannery sites, fish traps, logging, mining and prospecting activities. The loss of control over their land and resources to the new settlers left the Indians with little to fall back upon. The Act of 1884 , which created civil government in the territory, also extended the first land laws to the region, and in combination with subsequent legislation in 1903, new settlers were given the ability to demarcate and claim exclusively areas for canneries, mining claims, townsites, and homesteads, and obtain legal title to such tracts. Since the Indians were not recognized as citizens, they did not have corresponding rights (to hold title to land, to vote, etc.) to protect their interests.

Reference Notes

- ¹ See Lawrence W. Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska*, Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society and Region 10, United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, 1981, pp. 8-9. It is possible that this investigator, Livingston Stone, had come in contact with one of the formulators of the conservation ethic that was forming in America at this time —John Muir, who on his Alaska trips in 1879-80 experienced first hand the wildness that was found no longer in the lower 48 states, and observed that just as the coming of the white man spelled the dissolution of that wildness, so it led to the demise of what is best in Indian culture (see *Letters from Alaska*, John Muir, ed. by Robert Engberg and Bruce Merrell, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).
- ² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.
- ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-24. Another other major land reservation in the region was made subsequently for Glacier Bay National Park, which was originally withdrawn as a monument.
- ⁴ Emmons, who served in the U.S. Navy at the head of Lynn Canal in the 1880s and '90s, after the Chilkat were persuaded to open their country to miners and prospectors, had become an authority on Alaska and, in particular, the Tlingit people and culture. During his tour of duty, he was frequently called upon to serve as mediator between the Chilkat and Chilkoot people and the white settlers and transients who brought rapid changes to Tlingit territorial rights, economy and social organization.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17. Corser also thought that the reserve would injure the small timber operators in Alaska, and would only benefit the monopolistic lumber interests in Puget Sound.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 163; K. A. Soderberg and Jackie DuRette, *Alaska Forestry Under Attack* (Bellevue: The Free Enterprise Press, 1988), p. 101.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43, 49
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 44
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 44-45
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51-54.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40
- ²¹ It has been generally believed that earlier sites in Prince William Sound were destroyed by the rise in sea

level following glacial retreat, but significant inventories of newly discovered sites will likely provide important information on Chugach cultural precedents and prehistoric relationships. Numerous sites have been reported following extensive historical site and cultural resource surveys of the Prince William Sound region carried out by BIA, NPS, and Chugach Alaska Corporation seeking to identify and protect historical sites under ANCSA provisions, as well as by organizations and groups involved in the cleanup, damage assessment, and restoration efforts following the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill in March of 1989. For example, the Forest Service sponsored a major excavation of Uqciuvt in 1988, the first in the region since de Laguna's pioneering work at Palugvik in 1933, in order to fulfill site protection responsibilities required by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. John F.C. Johnson, of Chugach Alaska Corporation, documented numerous sites in the region during the 1980s. Exxon's cultural resource program staff identified 271 new sites, and augmented data for 238 previously-known sites, in 1989 and 62 new sites were recorded in 1990, in the Prince William Sound, outer Kenai Peninsula, Kodiak Archipelago, and Alaska Peninsula areas. See Michael R. and Linda F. Yarborough, *Uqciuvt: A Multicomponent Site in Northwestern Prince William Sound, Alaska* (Final Report for USDA Forest Service Contract Number 53-0114-7-00132, 1994); James C. Haggarty, Christopher B. Wooley, Jon M. Erlandson and Aron Crowell, *The 1990 Exxon Cultural Resource Program: Site Protection and Maritime Cultural Ecology in Prince William Sound and the Gulf of Alaska* (Anchorage: Exxon Shipping Company and Exxon Company, USA, 1991), pp. 4-13.

²² Donald W. Clark, "Prehistory of the Pacific Eskimo Region" (*Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 5: Arctic, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), p. 137. This earlier culture, called the Paleoarctic tradition, has been identified by some archaeologists as including elements of a coastal-marine tradition. It is associated with the subsidence of Beringea and the rise in sea-levels following the last major glaciation; and it is found in southwestern Alaska and across the north pacific rim. The cultural pattern is related to a similar microblade tradition from the same time period in southeast Alaska, which has been called the Paleomarine tradition, as discussed below. See also Haggarty et al. 1991, op.cit., pp. 115-119.

²³ Michael R. Yarborough and Linda Finn Yarborough, "Regional Overview of Prince William Sound and the Pacific Coast of the Kenai Peninsula, Paper prepared for the International Seminar on the Origins, Development, and Spread of Prehistoric North Pacific-Bering Sea Maritime Cultures, Honolulu, June 1993, p.6

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ During the first millennium B.C., for example, the Kachemak people began to practice more complex burial customs that were characteristic of their descendants. Later assemblages of Kachemak culture included better-finished tools and hunting implements, a large variety of adornment artifacts (such as beads, pendants, figurines, labrets and ornamental pins), heavy stone lamps carved with human and animal figures, as well as evidence of very elaborate funeral practices. Clark op.cit., p.140

²⁶ Yarborough and Yarborough op.cit., p. 6

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.7-8

²⁹ Clark, op.cit. (1984), pp.145-46

³⁰ See Yarborough and Yarborough, p.9. Since de Laguna's Yakutat archeology is largely that of the Eyak, this statement indicates the degree of similarity with the Eyak culture as well as the Tlingit.

³¹ The Alutiiq are the southernmost of Alaska's Eskimo cultural groups. They are also referred to as the Pacific Eskimo or Pacific Yupik, and are distinguished from the Yupik, Siberian Yupik and the Inupiaq-speaking peoples in western and northern Alaska. These are the four major language and cultural divisions of the Arctic Eskimo people represented in Alaska. This discussion of the Chugach is derived principally from the following sources: Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Chugach Eskimo*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ethnografisk Raekke VI, Copenhagen, 1953; Donald W. Clark, "Pacific Eskimo: Historical Ethnography," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 5: Arctic, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1984; and Frederica de Laguna, *Chugach Prehistory: The Archaeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956, and "Eyak," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 7: Northwest Coast, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990.

³² de Laguna suggests that the easternmost Chugach band may not have permanently occupied the mainland east of the Copper River and specifically the village named "Chilkat" on the Bering River at the head of Controller Bay, after which the band was named. She argues that there was probably earlier (prehistoric) Eyak occupation because of the tradition that an Eyak clan obtained their beaver crest in the vicinity, and that the name of the village is itself Tlingit in origin.

³³ See Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Chugach Eskimo*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ethnografisk Raekke VI, Copenhagen, 1953.

³⁴ The principal sources on the Eyak are Kaj Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna, *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska*, Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938; and Frederica de Laguna,

"Eyak," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 7: Northwest Coast, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990.

³⁵ Frederica de Laguna, "Eyak," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 7: Northwest Coast, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990, p.189

³⁶ However, there were two groups that each formed somewhat separate social groups within their respective moieties, and who referred to themselves as 'the Wolf People' and 'the Bark House People.' According to de Laguna, these groups were originally Tlingit groups who migrated from Katalla, the nearest Tlingit village, and were adopted into the respective Eyak moieties.

³⁷ The principal sources for this discussion are Cornelius Osgood, *The Ethnography of the Tanaina*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology Number 16, New Haven: The Human Relations Area Files, 1976 (1937) and Joan B. Townsend, "Tanaina," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 6: Subarctic, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.

³⁸ Cornelius Osgood, *The Ethnography of the Tanaina*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology Number 16, New Haven: The Human Relations Area Files, 1976 (1937), p. 19

³⁹ Osgood considers the Kachemak Bay Tanaina (Seldovia area) to be a separate subregional group from the Kenai Tanaina, while Townsend includes all of Kenai Peninsula Tanaina within the Kenai Society, with the exception of the coast of Turnagain Arm (and the village at Point Possession) which is put in with the Susitna Society. Townsend divides the Kenai Peninsula Tanaina into the following subregional variants: East Foreland Tanaina, Kenai River Tanaina, Kenai Mountain Tanaina, and Seldovia Tanaina. See Joan B. Townsend, "Tanaina," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 6: Subarctic, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, p.625.

⁴⁰ Osgood listed 10 clans in one moiety and five in the other, while Townsend (p.631) states there were between 11 and 18 clans.

⁴¹ The principal sources for this discussion are Stanley D. Davis, "Prehistory of Southeastern Alaska," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 7: Northwest Coast, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990, and Katherine L. Arndt, Russell H. Sackett and James A. Ketz, *A Cultural Resource Overview of the Tongass National Forest, Alaska*, Part 1: Overview, Juneau: Tongass National Forest Region 10, 1987, pp. 54-84

⁴² Katherine L. Arndt, Russell H. Sackett and James A. Ketz, *A Cultural Resource Overview of the Tongass National Forest, Alaska*, Part 1: Overview, Juneau: Tongass National Forest Region 10, 1987, p. 84

⁴³ The Tsimshian Indians of the Ketchikan area

originated in British Columbia and moved to Annette Island in 1887 under the influence of the missionary William Duncan; in the twentieth century this group formed the largest component of the Native community in Ketchikan.

⁴⁴ Walter R. Goldschmidt and Theodore H. Haas, *Possessory Rights of the Natives of Southeastern Alaska*, A Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Chicago: Office of Indian Affairs, 1946. The primary sources for this section are Frederica de Laguna, "Tlingit," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 7: Northwest Coast, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990, George Thorton Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, edited and additions by Frederica de Laguna, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991, and Kalvero Oberg, *The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973.

⁴⁵ Frederica de Laguna, "Tlingit," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 7: Northwest Coast, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990, p. 227

⁴⁶ This complex system of property rights was acknowledged and described in the judgement of the Tlingit and Haida claims (*Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska v. United States*, Ct. Cls. 1959, Opinion pp. 4-5, 49-52.)

⁴⁷ Margaret B. Blackman, "Haida: Traditional Culture," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, v. 7, Northwest Coast (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1999), pp.240-260.

⁴⁸ See George T. Emmons, *The Tahltan Indians*, Anthropological Publications, Vol. IV, No. 1, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1911; Franz Boas, Fifth Report on the Indians of Canada: the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, in Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Vol. 34, London, 1895, pp. 552-569; and W.H. Collison, *In the Wake of the War Canoe* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1915).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Later, another Russian party obtained a Chugach account of this encounter, which confirmed that the people fled when the Europeans came to land; see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884, pp.80-81; Kaj Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna, *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska*, Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938, pp.345-49. This section is drawn from many sources, including Katherine L. Arndt, Russell H. Sackett and James A. Ketz, *A Cultural Resource Overview of the Tongass National Forest, Alaska*, Part 1: Overview, Juneau: Tongass National Forest Region 10, 1987; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884; Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Chugach*

Eskimo, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ethnografisk Raekke VI, Copenhagen, 1953; Kaj Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna, *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska*, Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938; Aurel Krause, *The Tlingit Indians*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979 (1956); Charles W. Smythe, *A Study of Five Communities*, Appendix A: History of Occupation and Use, Report prepared for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and U.S.D.O.I. Bureaus of Land Management and Indian Affairs by Institute of Social and Economic Research University of Alaska (Lee Gorsuch and Steve Colt), Charles W. Smythe and Bart K. Garber, 1994

⁵¹ He noted their umiat (skin boats) and two-holed kayaks, and also blue glass trade beads and iron in their possession which indicated to him that contact with European traders had already taken place; see Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Chugach Eskimo*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ethnografisk Raekke VI, Copenhagen, 1953, p.9

⁵² Cook noted the use of the Aleut-style double-bladed kayak paddle, which suggests that the Eskimo were sent by the Russians to this area in search of sea otter. Cook explored the inlet believing it was the outlet of a large river; and it was first named Cook's River on his charts. After sending boats to explore Knik River and Turnagain Arm, from which the latter derives its name, the disappointed Cook was forced to turn back. He then proceeded past Kodiak Island down the Alaska Peninsula into country in Russian possession, and sailed through Unimak Pass into the Bering Sea where he continued his search along the coast for the north-west passage. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884, pp. 206-208

⁵³ By 1783, the fur-bearing populations of the Aleutians and the Alaska Peninsula were disappearing due to over-hunting. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884, p. 187

⁵⁴ See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884, pp. 186-191 and Kaj Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna, *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska*, Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938, p.356. In addition, the loss of half of Zaikof's men (to scurvy) while overwintering at Montague Island discouraged further Russian expansion into the region for several years. The focus of this Russian company's activity soon shifted to the Pribilof Islands, which were discovered in 1786, and the harvesting of pelts from the fur seal colony found there.

⁵⁵ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884, p. 240, 251. It

was probably during this period, under the influence of European trade, that residents of the formerly more numerous settlements in Cook Inlet converged at fewer locations, and the headmen of Tanaina bands accumulated unprecedented wealth.

⁵⁶ Kaj Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna, *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska*, Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938, p.358

⁵⁷ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884, pp. 227-30, 320-21, 334-45. The effrontery and crimes of the rival company had so incensed the Kenai Tanaina that the Skilak Lake group was reportedly forming a union with the western Cook Inlet Tanaina bands and the Chugach to drive the Russians from the Kenai.

⁵⁸ The Russians made several attempts at exploration of the Copper River between 1796 and 1847, some of which were massacred by Ahtna, and no further expeditions were made until the Americans resumed exploration in 1884 and '85 when it was proven that the Copper River did not provide a practical route to the interior. Kaj Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna, *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska*, Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938, p.360

⁵⁹ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884, pp. 401-413

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Russian profits were affected both by the decline of the sea otter population and by the success of the British and American ships that travelled in southeast Alaska. After 1800, the decline in sea otter in Alaska began to seriously reduce the profits of the Company; and sea otter were nearly extinct in southeast Alaska by about 1825. The Russians were also hampered in their competition with British and American traders because their prices were fixed below adequate levels by headquarters in St. Petersburg.

⁶³ The Tlingit supplied halibut, porpoise, whale blubber, bark (to cover sheds and barracks), bird eggs, birds, roots and grasses, berries, deer, mountain sheep, crabs, shellfish, and handicrafts (hats, blankets, masks, pipes, etc.), and received tobacco, iron pots, axes, glassware, linen, potatoes, flour, and from the company woolen blankets & copper pots.

⁶⁴ In 1834, the Russians established a small station on Wrangell Island to forestall the establishment of a British post up the Stikine River, and they backed up the Stikine Tlingit who stated they would resort to warfare to defend their control of the Stikine River trade route against the Hudson's Bay Company. After a diplomatic resolution of these differences, the Russians agreed to lease the littoral area of southeast Alaska to the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1839 the British re-

placed the Russians at Wrangell. However, the Britons returned to trading by ship after five years, and another settlement was not established at Wrangell until the first gold rush of the 1860s.

⁶⁵ Joan B. Townsend, "Tanaina," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 6: Subarctic, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, p.636; Aurel Krause, *The Tlingit Indians*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979 (1956), p.13

⁶⁶ Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, Department of the Interior Census Office, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884, p. 26-29; see Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Chugach Eskimo*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ethnografisk Raekke VI, Copenhagen, 1953, p. 11.

⁶⁷ Census figures from the annual report of the holy synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, "as furnished by the priests and missionaries stationed in the colonies," and, according to Petroff, "including nearly all the Natives under immediate control of the company." Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, Department of the Interior Census Office, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884, p. 38

⁶⁸ Petroff, *Report*, pp. 26-29.

⁶⁹ The U.S. Court of Claims identified 32 villages as of 1867, while Swanton, based on fieldwork conducted in 1904, enumerated 40 Tlingit towns, "ancient and modern," which he said was an incomplete listing. A map prepared by Lt. Emmons for the Alaska Boundary Tribunal shortly after the turn of the century provides a similar figure.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Angoon was likewise bombarded by the Navy in 1882. In these cases, the Tlingit had killed, or demanded payment from, a white person as compensation for the wrongful death of one of their own tribe; and in doing so they had acted according to Tlingit laws which sanctioned and required retaliation in kind or payment in lieu of human sacrifice.

⁷² U.S. Court of Claims, *The Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska v. The United States*, Opinion and Findings of Facts, Case No. 47900, Decided October 7, 1959; George Thornton Emmons, *A Report on the Condition and Needs of the Natives of Alaska*, 58th Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Document No. 106, January 19, 1905; Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska*, New York: Random House, 1954

⁷³ These settlement trends are discussed in George W. Rogers, *Alaska in Transition: The Southeast Region*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1960, pp. 198-214

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ The Act of 1884 included the first provisions for a

civil government for the Territory of Alaska, including a judicial branch for the administration of American law, which ended the period of military administration.

⁷⁶ See Rogers, *Alaska in Transition*, pp. 198-214.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Another American established the first and only trading post at the Eyak village of Alaganik, probably in 1899. B-S & de Laguna p. 360-61, Porter 1890:66-67

⁷⁹ Aurel Krause, *The Tlingit Indians*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979 (1956), pp. 13-14

⁸⁰ In 1890, Nuchek had a population of 120 Chugach Eskimo, 18 creoles (mixed with Russian ancestry) and seven whites; the village of Tatitlek had 53 Chugach and about 36 creoles; Kaniklik was inhabited by 73 Chugach; and there were 71 Chugach resident at Chenega, which was also the location of a fishing station for one of the Cordova canneries. Porter

⁸¹ Frederica de Laguna, *Chugach Prehistory: The Archaeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956, p. 28

⁸² Frederica de Laguna, *Chugach Prehistory: The Archaeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956, p. 12

⁸³ The railroad was the Copper River and Northwestern Railroad. The first shipment of copper ore from the Kennecott-Bonanza Mine took place in 1911; and for the period from 1915-24 the production generally exceeded 50 million pounds per year. After 1924, the output of copper declined rapidly, and the Kennecott mines closed down for the first time in 1932. David T. Kresge, Thomas A. Morehouse and George W. Rogers, *Issues in Alaska Development*, University of Alaska-Anchorage, Institute of Social and Economic Development, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977, p. 27

⁸⁴ Frederica de Laguna, *Chugach Prehistory: The Archaeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956, p. 35-6

⁸⁵ John F.C. Johnson, *Chugach Legends: Stories and Photographs of the Chugach Region*, Anchorage: Chugach Alaska Corporation, 1984, p. vii

⁸⁶ Robert P. Porter, *Report on Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, Department of the Interior Census Office, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890, p.68

⁸⁷ Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, Department of the Interior Census Office, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884, p.29

⁸⁸ Craig Mischler, "Tanaina Ethnohistory on the Northern Kenai Peninsula," *Progress Report Project F-021-2(15)/(A09812) Sterling Highway Archaeological Mitigation: Phase I Excavations at Four Sites on the Kenai Peninsula*, ed. by Charles E. Holmes, Report

Prepared by Division of Geological and Geophysical Surveys for Alaska Department of Transportation and Public Facilities, 1985, pp. 55-56

⁸⁹ Joan B. Townsend, "Tanaina," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 6: Subarctic, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, p. 637

⁹⁰ Robert P. Porter, *Report on Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, Department of the Interior Census Office, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890, pp. 69-70

⁹¹ Craig Mischler, "Tanaina Ethnohistory on the Northern Kenai Peninsula," *Progress Report Project F-021-2(15)/(A09812) Sterling Highway Archaeological Mitigation: Phase I Excavations at Four Sites on the Kenai Peninsula*, ed. by Charles E. Holmes, Report Prepared by Division of Geological and Geophysical Surveys for Alaska Department of Transportation and Public Facilities, 1985, pp.45-47, 52-53

Chapter II

Prelude to ANCSA: Acknowledgement of Native Property Rights

The southeast Indians first expressed their objections to the sale of Alaska and what they viewed as a usurpation of their territorial and political sovereignty as early as 1867, when they first met with representatives of the American government that had purchased Alaska without their consent. But the subsequent actions of the new settlers, the authority of the new government (which was backed up by the force of military weaponry), and the ideology of missionaries and teachers all worked against them. In 1898, for example, the leaders of several Indian groups from Wrangell, Juneau, Douglas and Hoonah were rebuffed by the Governor of Alaska, when they expressed their hope of recovering their land, or being paid for it, and retaining their rights and access to the resources that were being devastated by the onslaught of new settlers and commercial enterprises:

... By and by they began to build canneries and take the creeks away from us, where they make salmon and when we told them these creeks belong to us, they would not pay attention to us and said all this country belonged to President, the big chief at Washington. We have places where we used to trap furs; now the white man get up on these grounds. They tell us that they are hunting for gold ... There are animals and fish at places where they make homes. ... We make this complaint because we are very poor now. The time will come when we will not have anything left. The money and everything else in this country will be the property of the white man, and our people will have nothing. We meet here tonight for the purpose for you to write to the chief at Washington and to let him know our complaint. We also ask him to return our creeks and the hunting grounds that white people have taken away from us.¹

These meetings were cited in the 1959 decision recognizing Tlingit and Haida land claims to southeast Alaska, which held that the Indians had not voluntarily given up their aboriginal property rights during the period of American occupation.

The Tlingit and Haida Land Claims Settlement in Southeast Alaska, 1935-1968

The history of the Tlingit and Haida land claims begins with the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and Sisterhood (ANS). The ANB is a civic organization of the Indians of southeast Alaska started with encouragement from the Bureau of Education (the forerunner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) and missionaries of the

Sheldon Jackson School and Russian Orthodox Church in Sitka; its first meeting was in Juneau in 1912. Its purpose was the improvement of the socioeconomic status of Indians, and initially the organization espoused cultural assimilation and abandonment of traditional practices as the methods to achieve their goal. But by 1920, under the influence of Louis and William Paul, a more activist approach was adopted which became the hallmark of the organization: the pursuit of specific issues through the court system by bringing test cases to trial, funded through contributions from members. The organization became more focused on ending discrimination and achieving basic civil rights (such as the right to vote, freedom of education, non-discrimination in employment opportunities, etc.). In the 1920s, all the southeastern communities formed local chapters of both the ANB and the ANS, and went to court challenging the denial of the Indian vote and attendance at publicly funded, all-white schools.

The idea to pursue Indian claims for the loss of lands and property rights in Alaska is attributed to one of the founders of ANB, a Tsimshian named Peter Simpson, who first posed the question, "Whose land is this?" and urged the Native leaders to take action. The noted Tlingit attorney, William L. Paul, Sr., initiated the process in Haines at the 1929 annual ANB convention. Paul invited Judge James Wickersham to address the convention, and Wickersham called upon the ANB to pursue Congressional action to redress the loss of land and the timber on it. He read a list of Indian communities that should participate in this action together: Angoon, Douglas, Haines, Hoonah, Hydaburg, Juneau, Kake, Kasaan, Ketchikan, Klukwan, Petersburg, Sitka and Wrangell.² The impetus for the lawsuit was not confined to land rights. William Paul has said that he brought the land claims idea to the convention because he felt that the Natives were not winning the fight against industry-supported fish traps.³

So in 1929, the ANB made an historic decision to pursue federal standing to bring a claims action against the United States government for the loss of tribal property, and of its use and possession, in Alaska.⁴ Working with the Territorial Congressional delegate, members of the ANB helped draft and introduce legislation, and in 1935 Anthony Dimond succeeded in achieving passage of the special jurisdictional act granting authority to the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska to pursue these claims. Later that year, the first organizational meeting of the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska took place in Wrangell, concurrently with the ANB annual convention. After a series of delays, a BIA-approved contract was signed with attorneys selected

by the Tlingit and Haida Indians and the case was filed on October 1, 1947. There were 18 communities represented in the case. In 1954, descendants of traditional Tlingit and Haida tribes, who were recognized as chiefs or active leaders of Tlingit and Haida clans, intervened as parties plaintiff in the suit; and the following tribes were represented: Chilkat, Auk, Taku, Hoonah, Yakutat, Lituya, Sitka, Angoon, Kake, Kuiu, Henya, Stikine, Tongass, Sanya, and Kaigani (Haida). A comparable lawsuit was also filed before the Indian Claims Commission with corresponding plaintiffs in the 1950s.

On October 7, 1959, the U.S. Court of Claims held that the Tlingit and Haida Indians had established their claims of aboriginal Indian title to the land in Southeast Alaska and were entitled to recover compensation for the uncompensated taking of their lands by the United States, and for the failure or refusal of the United States to protect the interest of the Indians in their lands or their hunting and fishing rights. The court held that the Tlingit and Haida Indians exclusively used and occupied a large area of Southeast Alaska at the time of purchase of Alaska in 1867, and that the land had not been abandoned by the Indians prior to the dates of taking.

The court found that some of the land and water used and occupied by the Indians in 1867 were subsequently taken outright by the Government, including the various areas set aside for the Tongass National Forest and Glacier Bay National Monument, and the Annette Islands reserve. The court also held that part of the land and water rights was subsequently lost through the failure of the United States to exempt such property from the operation of the general land laws in Alaska and from the failure of the Government to enforce such minimum protection as was authorized in the laws (particularly section 8 of the Organic Act of Alaska). This included areas lost to homesteads, mineral leases, mining and industrial sites, and townsites established by white settlers.⁵

A second trial followed this one which established the value of the possessory rights lost and for which compensation was made by the federal government. On January 19, 1968, the U.S. Court of Claims decided that the Tlingit and Haida Indians were entitled to recover \$7,546,053.80 for the loss of their land. In this case, the Court established standards of valuation for Indian title lands and determined the acreage to which such values applied, including townsites, mineral lands and timber lands in areas of Indian title land taken or patented by the United States. This included the recognition of Indian title in the townsites that were

established by white settlers (Douglas, Haines, Juneau, Ketchikan, Petersburg, Sitka, Skagway and Wrangell), as well as the town of Metlakatla on the Annette Island Reserve. The Court also determined the value of the lost Indian fishing rights (\$8,388,315); however, the Court disallowed compensation for the Indians' lost fishing rights. These rights were subsequently pursued through the pending property claims action before the Indian Claims Commission, originally filed in 1954, but there was no decision on the merits by the time of the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in December of 1971. The Commission subsequently ruled that ANCSA extinguished all such claims and the proceeding became a moot issue.

The Tlingit and Haida settlement established aboriginal Indian title to nearly all of Southeast Alaska, and determined that the land had not been abandoned at the time of taking by the federal government. Although the southeast Indians received compensation for the national forest, national park, townsite, and other lands that were taken from them, this did not constitute all of the Indian owned land in the southeast region. There were 2,628,207 acres of land in southeast Alaska that remained in aboriginal Indian title and belonged to the Tlingit and Haida Indians, as identified in the 1959 court decision. These other lands became the basis for the participation of the southeast Indians in the subsequent statewide Alaska Native land claims settlement in 1971. In the 1960s, the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indians was reconstituted with expanded authority granted by Congress as a regional tribal organization overseeing the distribution and use of the claims compensation. With the transfer of contracting authority by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Central Council assumed its current role as the major tribal governmental services organization in southeast Alaska.⁶

Aboriginal Claims, and the Development of the Pulpwood Industry in Southeast Alaska

The Forest Service first offered acreage in the Tongass for a pulpwood sale in 1913, recognizing that the pulp industry would be the best use of the forest (hemlock comprised about 55 percent of the potential timber resources in the forest).⁷ The sale was not completed because the applicant could not obtain financing, and a subsequent offering in 1917 had similar results. Forest Service officials pursued efforts to establish a pulp industry in the Tongass and, by the early 1920s, had identified 14 areas of potential timber sales with mill sites. Forest Service Chief Greeley had a deep personal interest in the development of a pulp program in

Alaska, and industrialists were taken around to view potential sites on the Forest Service boat.⁸ But pulp sales in the 1920s and '30s were unproductive, although one pulp mill operated at Speel River about 30 miles south of Juneau in 1922-23. Forest Service efforts succeeded under the leadership of B. Frank Heintzleman who first came to Alaska with the service in 1918 and served as Regional Forester from 1937-53, after which he replaced Ernest Gruening as Governor of the Territory of Alaska. Heintzleman's major interest was to recruit and promote a pulp industry in Alaska, which would help Alaska develop and advance the welfare of the region.⁹ His efforts were consistent with established Forest Service policy to support and encourage the settlement and development of Alaska. The early Forest Service policy towards development of the Tongass was to encourage the industrial use of forest resources as an aid to community settlement and economic stability. In 1926, the following "Statement of Priorities" was prepared for the Tongass:

All policies and practices should be developed in such a manner as will contribute in the largest possible way to the welfare and prosperity of the individuals and communities which will eventually constitute a State of the Union, so far as this can be done without defeating the fundamental purposes for which National Forests are established...

Encourage in every possible manner compatible with the best interests of the Forest Service and the public in general, the development of a timber and paper manufacturing industry in Alaska which will utilize timber growth up to the full sustained yield basis in coordination with possible other powers naturally available.¹⁰

Tongass Timber Act of 1947

In the mid-1940s, Heintzleman revived a Ketchikan area pulpwood timber sale which first failed in 1927, while Senator Magnuson of Washington and Delegate Bartlett of Alaska played a major part in the development of the Tongass Timber Act of 1947. This act allowed for long-term timber sales and enabled the Forest Service to enter into long-term contracts with pulp mill developers. A single bid was accepted in 1948 for the Ketchikan sale, and following negotiation of a 50-year timber purchase agreement, the Forest Service awarded a contract to the Ketchikan Pulp Company in 1951. In the agreement, the Forest Service stated objectives that were unchanged since the 1920s: the Forest Service was "deeply interested in encouraging and bringing about the industrial development of Alaska."¹¹ At this time, new national security goals that arose after World

War II were to be served by the settlement and development in Alaska.

The Ketchikan Pulp Company agreed to establish a pulp mill and develop water supplies and other facilities for the enterprise and, in return for the unusual risks and long-term investment associated with the "pioneering undertaking," the Forest Service agreed to afford the opportunity to purchase supplies of timber for permanent operation of the enterprise through sustained yield management of the Tongass National Forest.¹² A second 50-year contract within the Tongass was awarded in 1957 to the Japanese-owned Alaska Pulp Company in Sitka. This agreement served as an element of the post-war redevelopment efforts of the Japanese economy on the part of the United States.

These commercial objectives of the Forest Service were also congruent with local sentiment supporting statehood, community settlement and development of Alaska's resources for the benefit of its permanent residents. The development of the pulp industry had strong support from Alaska's governor, who saw the significance of this enterprise in terms of creating stable employment on a year-round basis in a region that had been dominated by the canned salmon industry, which only provided seasonal opportunities filled largely by non-residents who left the state at the end of the fishing period. The salmon fishing industry was long the principal component in the regional economy of southeast Alaska, and the reckless exploitation of the salmon stocks engendered by the commercial use of fish traps threatened the very resource on which it was based.

Development of the pulp industry was also expected to benefit the Indians of southeast Alaska, whose principal economic activity — commercial seine fishing — was significantly affected by the decline in fish stocks in the 1940s and the subsequent crash in the 1950s. The future economic well-being of the Native population was associated with the expected employment opportunities in the new pulp timber industry that was developing in Ketchikan and Sitka.¹³ While the development of the pulp industry in Ketchikan prompted a substantial migration of Tlingit and Haida Indians from Prince of Wales communities into that city, the principal economic benefits accruing to the Indians resulted from employment in construction and other positions associated with the development of the community, rather than direct employment in the pulp industry itself.¹⁴

The Tongass Timber Act also included a provision regarding unresolved Indian claims to the Tongass which potentially undermined the ability of the Forest

Service to enter into the long-term contracts necessary for the development of a pulpwood industry. The legislation stipulated that the receipts from the long-term timber sales would be placed in a special escrow fund until the outstanding claims of aboriginal Indian title to the forest were settled.¹⁵ The law also clearly entailed no Congressional recognition of such rights: nothing in the act either affirmed or denied the validity of native claims, but in the event that such claims were found to be valid, it provided that the funds would be allocated to the payment of compensation.

The escrow provision was proposed as a compromise measure by the Department of Interior in response to the "unmitigated chaos in land titles and land claims" in southeast Alaska, which included Forest Service opposition to the recognition of traditional Indian use and aboriginal title.¹⁶ If Rakestraw's treatment of the Indian possessory rights issue is revealing of the attitude within the Forest Service during the first half of this century, Indian land use and title were seen as a persistent problem of management on the Tongass that came to a head in the 1940s. At that juncture, he writes, Heintzleman's "ambition to establish a pulp industry in Alaska was badly complicated by the question of Native claims and possessory rights."¹⁷ DOI efforts supporting such claims, such as backing passage of the 1935 jurisdictional act on behalf of the Tlingit and Haida Indians and moving to create large land and fisheries reserves in southeast, seriously conflicted with Forest Service plans for a pulpwood industry in Alaska.

Proposed Reservations in the Tongass

The New Deal policy of the Roosevelt administration, with Harold Ickes as Interior Secretary, was to recognize aboriginal rights to land and fisheries in Alaska and, founded on an acknowledgement of these rights, to support efforts to provide a land and resource base to Native communities for their economic benefit. The institutional and economic development of Indian reservations was the cornerstone of a new national Indian policy that empowered tribal groups to form governments and corporations to manage their communities and utilize the resources on their reservations, and that was codified in the Wheeler-Howard Act, or Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), of 1934 with support from the Department of the Interior. As discussed above, the Department of the Interior also supported the special jurisdictional act of 1935 under which the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska were authorized to bring their land and fishery claims in court against the United States. William Paul was instrumental in this effort, with the full backing of the Alaska Native Brotherhood.

Because there was only one reservation in Alaska, many of the provisions did not apply in the territory. With key support from William Paul and the Secretary of the Interior, the Alaskan delegate succeeded in acquiring passage of IRA amendments in 1936 extending provisions of the act to Alaska. These amendments included granting authority to the Interior Secretary to create reservations in Alaska, a power he did not have in the lower 48 states. The efforts by the Interior Department to establish reservations in southeast Alaska over the next 15 years greatly alarmed the Forest Service, which opposed the principle of aboriginal rights.¹⁸

Following passage of the 1936 legislation extending the IRA to Alaska, the Department of the Interior conducted an investigation of the conditions and needs of Indian communities in southeast Alaska, which recommended the creation of reservations in the Tongass National Forest.¹⁹ In 1937, an Interior solicitor gave the opinion that the Secretarial authority to establish reservations in Alaska extended to fisheries reserves over submerged lands under navigable waters adjacent to lands occupied by Alaska Natives, and in 1938 Interior proposed Alaska's first IRA corporation at Hydaburg including a reservation that extended over nearby waters. In 1942, Interior issued a second opinion, known as the Margate opinion, which stated that Indian fishing rights were violated by the operation of traps by and allocation of trap sites to non-Indians within reservations. The Margate opinion affirmed "that original occupancy establishes possessory rights in Alaskan waters and submerged lands, and that such rights have not been extinguished by any treaty, statute or administrative action."²⁰ The issue was over three non-Native fish traps that were located within the proposed Hydaburg reservation. The conclusion that aboriginal fishing rights are violated by the operation of fish traps by non-Natives in waters reserved for Indians prompted strong opposition on the part of the salmon packing industry, which objected strenuously to proposals for the establishment of fisheries reserves. As a result public hearings on aboriginal fishing rights scheduled for that year were delayed.

In 1944, hearings were held on the aboriginal claims related to the protection of fisheries in the communities of Hydaburg, Klawock and Kake. The hearing officer concluded that exclusive aboriginal possession of the waters (aboriginal fishing rights) had been abandoned, but he upheld rights to land based on occupancy and recommended the DOI investigate aboriginal claims throughout southeast so that Congress could compensate for losses, or so DOI could set aside reservations if

Congress did not compensate for them. Upon appeal to the Secretary, Ickes affirmed the loss of fishing rights but sustained rights to land, and he established an amount of land to be set aside for the three village reservations:

Hydaburg - 101,000 acres
Klawock - 95,000 acres
Kake - 77,000 acres

Prior to this time, the Department of the Interior had identified three options to protect fishing rights: 1) a legislative remedy offering financial compensation for deprivation of fishing rights; 2) an administrative action protecting rights through regulations such as gear and harvest limits; or 3) a secretarial order establishing reservations. But as a result of these fishery decisions, by 1945 the DOI was moving towards the third option for the resolution of aboriginal possessory claims. In 1946, the DOI sponsored an investigation of claims in the remaining villages in southeast, which was published in a report entitled *Possessory Rights of the Indians of Southeast Alaska*.²⁰ Subsequent investigations were expected for the remainder of the state. However, there was a change in administration in 1946 when Truman was elected President, Ickes was replaced by John A. Krug, and the Interior policy on aboriginal rights softened substantially after Ickes resigned.

The concept of Indian rights was challenged on several fronts during 1947, the year that the Tongass Timber Act became law. A decision in a case involving the federal condemnation of Indian-owned tidelands in Juneau (*Miller v. United States*, 159 F. 2d 997) held that aboriginal rights were extinguished by the Alaskan purchase, but they were compensable as individual interests because such were explicitly recognized in the 1884 Organic Act. There was substantial opposition to reservations expressed to Congressmen by representatives of the salmon packing industry, as well as by Governor Gruening and Delegate Bartlett. In chapter 25 of his history of the State of Alaska, Gruening describes the reservation policy as another instance of "federal overlords" mismanaging Alaska, and particularly singles out "the confusion created by Secretary Ickes's arbitrary and disingenuous efforts of impose his reactionary concepts upon the people of Alaska."²² But Gruening and Bartlett both advocated for speedy resolution of aboriginal claims by the federal government either through granting land in fee simple or monetary compensation. Ironically, their position on reservations put them on the same side of the issue as the salmon canning industry, which they normally attacked fiercely

for its economic and political domination of Alaskan affairs. It should also be noted that reservations were not unanimously supported within the Native community in southeast Alaska; several villages and the ANB had expressed their concerns over reservations which were viewed as a return to the past when they did not have citizenship rights to own property in fee simple, and were forced into a segregated school system. Finally in 1947, the Senate passed a resolution (Senate Joint Resolution No. 162) repealing the Secretary of Interior's authority to establish reservations in Alaska, but no corresponding action was taken in the House.

Secretarial authority to create reservations in Alaska was upheld in a 1949 supreme court decision over the validity of the Karluk reservation ordered in 1943.²³ In 1949, over the opposition of Gruening and Bartlett, Secretary Krug signed a secretarial order establishing a Hydaburg reservation of 100,000 acres, which was approved by referendum of Hydaburg residents in 1950.²⁴ This order included nearby waters, and the DOI sought the transfer of commercial fish traps within the reserve to the Indians of Hydaburg. When the operator, Libby, McNeil, and Libby, refused to turn over their traps, the federal government brought suit to enjoin the company from operating the traps inside the reservation. In a 1952 decision, the court held that the order creating the Hydaburg reservation was invalid and ruled in favor of the operator. The judge in this case, Mr. Folta, was the same person who ruled in 1947 that the Treaty of Cession extinguished aboriginal title in Alaska (*Miller v. United States*) and concluded that aboriginal fishing rights had been abandoned in the waters of southeast Alaska after the 1944 Interior hearings. The government chose not to appeal this decision, and after this ruling it abandoned efforts to establish reservations in Alaska. According to Naske, this was the outcome of a compromise over the Senate's resolution to repeal the Secretary of Interior's authority to establish reservations in Alaska: no further reservations would be created in Alaska until after statehood was achieved.²⁵

Forest Service Opposition to Traditional Land Use and Aboriginal Rights

The Forest Service was deeply opposed to the recognition of aboriginal title to large areas of southeast Alaska and did not give credence to claims based on traditional land use and Indian occupancy for hunting, fishing and gathering activities. The Service preferred to delimit prior occupancy and aboriginal title based on physical evidence of actual use, such as garden sites, graves, fish houses, and smoke houses. The denial of Native land claims based on traditional use and occupancy, that is, using areas for hunting, fishing and gathering

activities, was also a common practice among other federal agencies in Alaska. For example, the Bureau of Land Management, the federal agency having custody of unreserved lands in Alaska, rejected hunting and fishing activities as proof of use and occupancy in applications for Native allotments under the 1906 Alaska Native Allotment Act. "Partly for this reason, only 101 allotments had been made in Alaska in the 56 years since the act had been adopted in Congress."²⁶

According to Rakestraw, this policy applied in the way that the Forest Service carried out the provisions of the Forest Homestead Act of 1906, which was the first land law that enabled Indians to take up land in the Tongass, and it also characterized their response to the 1906 Alaska Native Allotment Act, which authorized the Secretary of Interior to allocate up to 160 acres of land to Indian family heads. However, the available evidence indicates that this policy developed first in practice, as it was not until the late 1940s and early 1950s that it begins to appear in written form in internal memos, correspondence and Congressional testimony. It continued in practice in the 1960s.

Although Rakestraw reports only one dispute between the Forest Service and Indians seeking to use the Tongass in a customary and traditional manner, conflicts were common since Forest Service personnel sought to protect the forest for specified public and private uses, while Tlingit Indians sought to continue their use of the coastal region for hunting, fishing and gathering.²⁷ Tlingit residents reported that during first half of this century, it was a common practice for Forest Service personnel to burn Indian cabins, trolling poles, and smokehouses to discourage Indians from entering upon and using land within the Tongass National Forest. According to statements by K.J. Metcalf, this continued in the 1960s, when "it was unofficial policy to remove as many smokehouses and what they would call abandoned structures as possible to eliminate land-use problems" by burning them down:

The Forest Service had an unwritten policy that they did not want land to be transferred out of public ownership. And the way to ensure this was that whenever they could they would remove any cabins or smokehouses that appeared to be abandoned. ... It was a very common practice. People talked about it all the time. People would come in from the field and say they found an old smokehouse and burned it down or a cabin and burned it down. In fact, there was a concerted effort by people who were going into the field to remove these structures.²⁸

John Sandor, however, who served his first tour in the Region from 1953 to 1962, and as Kasaan District Ranger from 1957-58 recalls no written or unwritten policy to burn Indian Allotment smokehouses or other structures. Abandoned structures that were unsafe to use and a potential nuisance were cleared and sometimes burned, which he thought contributed to the incorrect perception that there was a "policy" to clear Indian allotments.

This practice probably had a significant impact on the progress of approval of Indian allotments under the 1906 legislation, which remained in effect until the passage of ANCSA in 1971. Congressional review of the program in 1956 showed that a total of only 79 allotments had been made in Alaska in the 50 years since the law was enacted, leading to a judicial conclusion that there has been "minimal implementation" of the program.²⁹ Rakestraw does not describe the effects on Indian use of the numerous leases of forest lands granted to non-Natives for fox farms, one of the approved uses of the Tongass.

The Forest Service policy on Indian occupancy mirrors the findings of the court in the Miller decision from 1947, discussed above, which stated that for aboriginal use and occupancy to be compensable, it "must be notorious, exclusive and continuous and of such a nature as to leave visible evidence thereof, so as to put strangers upon notice that the land is in the use or occupancy of another, and the extent thereof must be readily apparent."³⁰ It also coincides with the position of Senator Butler who in 1948, with the support of the Department of Agriculture, proposed a Senate Resolution rescinding all orders of the Secretary of Interior establishing reservations in Alaska, and the authority under which they were issued, replacing it with authority for the Secretary to issue patents to Native "tribes and villages or individuals for town sites, villages, smokehouses, gardens, burial grounds, or missionary stations."³¹

There was an inevitable contradiction between western concepts of land use, measured in terms of a built environment and according to the agricultural origins of the homestead and allotment legislation, and the customary and traditional Indian practice of land occupancy characterized by flexibility and seasonal use of large expanses of territory with minimal physical impact on the environment. But underlying the Service's practices was a basic conflict of interest between its institutional mission and the traditional Indian occupancy and use, including subsistence, of land and water.

In the 1940s, Heintzleman was on the side of the salmon cannery industry which was equally threatened by the IRA reservation proposals and had mounted a major lobbying and public information program in opposition to DOI administrative policy and actions to recognize aboriginal claims and establish reservations. The Congressional lobbyist for the salmon canning interests continually used the aboriginal rights issue in arguments against statehood, in warnings about the confusion which would result from the land claims and criticizing the DOI for its erratic policies. In July of 1944, at about the time DOI announced it would hold hearings on the fishing rights issue in Hydaburg, Klawock and Kake, Heintzleman arranged a meeting between a Juneau attorney representing the salmon cannery interests and the Chief of the Forest Service, Mr. Watts, and his assistant, Mr. Grainger. The parties exchanged confidences and spent about two hours discussing the matter of Indian reservations and ancestral rights, which was reported in a letter by the attorney to the Alaska Packers Association:

They [Watts, Grainger and Heintzleman] are very much concerned, and Mr. Watts says that it is the most serious thing facing Alaska. They are particularly concerned because of their efforts to get capital in here to develop the paper making industry. ...

I am giving Mr. Grainger a copy of my Brief which I used here last summer in the argument on the Demurer as this goes into all phases of the question of ancestral rights ...

I think these gentlemen will put up considerable opposition to any claims of the Indians which are backed by [Felix] Cohen's theories.

P.S. Please treat as confidential what I have said about the Forest Service officials as I know they do not want to be quoted now.³²

Unfortunately for the Forest Service, their views were not kept confidential. A letter from Heintzleman expounding this position was published in the *Yale Forest School News* in January of 1945, causing embarrassment to the Forest Service. As reported by Rakestraw,

The judgements of the Department of Interior were alarming to the Forest Service. If Ickes's views were realized, the whole timber industry in southeast Alaska would be jeopardized. Pulp companies would be discouraged from making investments, since the right of the Forest Service to make timber sales would be in doubt. Heintzleman expounded his views in a letter to Harold Lutz. The effort to

give Indians title to southeast Alaska, he wrote, was "under the theory that they are the owners of all the lands and resources through their heredity of aboriginal rights and that these rights have never been extinguished by the federal government." Heintzleman blamed the Department of Interior for the matter, particularly Secretary Ickes. "With the assistance of the Interior Department, and on the basis of some legal opinion given by the Secretary of Interior by the Solicitor's office of that department," he wrote, "each village, as S.E. Alaska has never had a tribal organization, has made application for hundreds of thousands of acres of land and tidewater fishing areas that blanket all the fishing sites and large areas of trolling grounds." He went on to summarize the existing laws under which the Indians could acquire land. He concluded, "The thought is often expressed by private citizens that the move to set up vast Indian reservations in S.E. Alaska is based, in large part, on a desire to eliminate the National Forests in Alaska."³³

The establishment of reservations may have been seen by Forest Service officials as part of a DOI strategy to takeover the Forest Service: elsewhere Rakestraw reports that the Secretary of the Interior "was at this time deeply committed to transferring the Forest Service to the Interior Department."³⁴ However, the passage of the Tongass Timber Act in 1947 preserved the National Forests, established the framework for the development of the pulpwood industry, and deferred the question of aboriginal possessory rights to timber and land in southeast Alaska.

During this period, the Forest Service consistently advocated for the needs of the pulp and paper industry over the uses of Natives. In testifying on behalf of timber sales within the Tongass National Forest in 1947, a Forest Service official declared that the industry's needs required cutting areas important to Indians. After a representative of the DOI explained that berry-picking, hunting, trapping, and "a little log cutting for their own use" might support Native claims to about 10-15 percent of the forest, a Forest Service official asserted that "we cannot possibly stay out of the 10 percent."³⁵ In 1948, the Department of Agriculture expressed its agreement with the Senate's efforts to repeal the Interior Secretary's authority to establish reservations in Alaska, proposing instead a much more limited authority "to establish small Indian reservations covering areas in actual use for such purposes as villages, burial grounds, smoke houses, gardens, and missionary stations."³⁶ Similarly, in 1954 the Forest Service recommended that all Indian claims to the forest be

extinguished because of continuing uncertainty affecting the pulpwood industry: the agency explained to a Congressional committee that Indian claims "based largely on hunting, trapping, berry picking, fishing, firewood cutting, or other highly transitory and nomadic use by the Indians or their forebears inject a large amount of uncertainty into the prospective development of the pulp and paper industry in southeastern Alaska based on national forest timber."³⁷

The commitment of the Forest Service to timber harvest objectives during this period later brought its actions into conflict the wider purposes of multiple use management. In a review of past Forest Service practices in the Tongass, Senators Metzenbaum and Tsongas provided this commentary in the following statement:

Since the early 1950s ... the management of the Tongass National Forest has stressed logging to the virtual exclusion of all other values with resultant adverse impacts on fisheries, wildlife habitat, and wilderness. The primary goal of the Forest Service in the late '40s and '50s was to eventually cut most of the Tongass timber for pulp. At that time, the old growth forest was thought to be good for pulp production only.³⁸

The Tee-Hit-Ton Case

In 1951, the Forest Service contracted for the sale of timber in the Wrangell area under the Tongass Timber Act. The sale area included 350,000 acres of land and 150 square miles of water which was the traditional territory belonging to the Tee-Hit-Ton Indians, a Tlingit clan from the community of Wrangell. The Tee-Hit-Ton, with their chief William Paul as the single witness, brought suit in the Court of Claims for compensation for the taking of timber by the United States from these lands. The Court of Claims ruled that the Indians did indeed hold the land according to original Indian title and right of occupancy prior to 1867, but it found that aboriginal title was an insufficient basis to grant compensation because there had been no government recognition of Indian occupancy after 1867.

The Tee-Hit-Ton appealed this decision to the Supreme Court, which upheld the finding in 1955 (348 U.S. 272). The Supreme Court did not deny the Tee-Hit-Ton claims of possession based on occupancy, thus repudiating the finding in the Miller case that the purchase of Alaska extinguished aboriginal title, but it awarded no compensation for the taking of timber since their occupancy had not been specifically recognized by congressional action or authority. The court stated that Indian occupancy was not a property right protected

under the Fifth Amendment, but it is a right of occupancy granted by permission of the United States after conquest. In order for compensation to be awarded to Indian claimants, there must be a clear intent by Congress to recognize their *permanent* possessory rights in the lands occupied by them, not merely 'permissive occupation.' Such recognition was explicit in the decision of the 1959 Tlingit and Haida land claims lawsuit, authorized by the 1935 jurisdictional act, and in 1971 with the passage of ANCSA legislation.

The Tee-Hit-Ton asserted that the early land laws in Alaska sufficiently recognized the clan's possessory rights to the land in question, and referred to provisions in the Organic Act of 1884 and the Act of June 6, 1890, which command that Indians and certain other persons "shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupation or now claimed by them." The court examined these statutes and legislative history and did not find support for the contention, and decided that what was intended was to retain the *status quo* until further Congressional or judicial action was taken.

But three justices, including the chief justice, dissented, finding otherwise both in the language and legislative history of the 1884 Organic Act. Writing for the minority, Douglas reported that the act's intent was clearly stated in the record of the debates, to protect to the fullest extent of the law the rights of the Indians and the residents who had settled there and not to diminish the rights of the Indians in any way. This intent was acknowledged in statements on the record by Senator Plumb of Kansas, who introduced the words, "or now claimed by them," even though he also facetiously suggested that the language "actually in their use or occupation" might be construed as no larger than two by six feet [that is, the body space for each Native person]. In the words of Justice Douglas, "Senator Harrison replied that it was the intention of the committee 'to save from all possible invasion the rights of the Indian residents of Alaska.'" Harrison gave emphasis to the point by adding:

It was the object of the committee absolutely to save the rights of all occupying Indians in that Territory until the report which is provided for in another section of the bill could be made, when the Secretary of the Interior could ascertain what their claims were and could definitely define any reservations that were necessary to be set apart for their use. We did not intend to allow any invasion of the territory by which private rights could be acquired by any person except in so far as it was necessary

in order to establish title to mining claims in the Territory. Believing that that would occupy but the smallest portion of the territory here and there, isolated and detached and small quantities of ground, we thought the reservation of lands occupied by the Indians or by anybody else was a sufficient guard against any serious invasion of their rights.³⁹

Of these words, Douglas wrote, "The conclusion seems clear that Congress in the 1884 Act recognized the claims of these Indians to their Alaskan lands." It is interesting to note that Secretary of the Interior Ickes also referred to this provision in departmental testimony in favor of the 1936 IRA amendments conferring secretarial authority to establish reservations in Alaska, which he argued would enable the United States to fulfill its obligation to Indians under the 1884 act.

The Tongass Timber Act of 1947, Tlingit and Haida land settlements, and Alaskan Statehood achieved in 1959, are all integral parts of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA), and its sequel, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act in 1980 (ANILCA). The Alaska Native land claims settlements, statehood, and multiple-use, environmental, and wilderness legislation approved by Congress in the 1960s markedly changed the policies, practices, and procedures for National Forest Management in the nineteen seventies and beyond.

Reference Notes

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- ² Judson Brown, 1993, personal communication; Paul, William L., Sr., Letter to Conrad Mather, 1946
- ³ Peter M. Metcalfe, *The Central Council 50 Years: A Historical Profile of the Central Council and the Tlingit and Haida People*, Juneau: The Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Tribes, 1985, pp. 14-15
- ⁴ A Native group or tribe cannot sue the federal government without its permission, and so before a court action can be brought the group must first be granted recognition and the right to bring a claim before the federal court.
- ⁵ U.S. Court of Claims, *The Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska v. The United States*. Opinion and Findings of Facts, Case No. 47900, decided October 7, 1959
- ⁶ Charles W. Smythe, "Tlingit and Haida Tribal Status," A Report of the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indians Tribes of Alaska, Juneau: Central Council, 1989; Charles W. Smythe, *A Study of Five Communities*, Chapter 3: The Tlingit and Haida Settlement, Report prepared for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and U.S.D.O.I. Bureaus of Land Management and Indian Affairs by Institute of Social and Economic Research University of Alaska (Lee Gorsuch and Steve Colt), Charles W. Smythe and Bart K. Garber, 1994
- ⁷ The proposed sale was on the Stikine River. K.A. Soderberg and Jackie DuRette, *People of the Tongass: Alaska Forestry under Attack*, Bellevue: The Free Enterprise Press, 1988, pp. 214-15
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- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 223
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 222-23
- ¹³ George W. Rogers, *Alaska in Transition: The Southeast Region*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1960, pp. 214-219
- ¹⁴ Charles W. Smythe, *A Study of Five Communities*, Appendix A: History of Occupation and Use for Ketchikan, Anchorage: Report prepared for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and U.S.D.O.I. Bureaus of Land Management and Indian Affairs by Institute of Social and Economic Research University of Alaska (Lee Gorsuch and Steve Colt), Charles W. Smythe and Bart K. Garber, 1994
- ¹⁵ The Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska brought suit in 1947 against the United States in the Court of Claims over their pre-existing land and water property rights in southeast Alaska, and sought compensation for the unlawful taking of such lands by the United States and its citizens. This action was authorized by the special jurisdictional act of 1935, granting the Indians the right to bring suit against the United States, as described above.
- ¹⁶ Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska*, New York: Random House, 1954, p. 372
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27
- ¹⁸ For valuable discussions of the IRA as applied in Alaska, and the forces against the establishment of reservations, see Robert E. Price, *The Great Father in Alaska: The Case of the Tlingit and Haida Salmon Fishery*, Douglas: The First Street Press, 1990, pp. 103-137, and Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska*, New York: Random House, 1954, pp. 364-381
- ¹⁹ Oscar H. Lipps, *The Indian Tribes of Southeast Alaska. A Report on their Location, Village Organization and their Social and Economic Conditions*, Chicago: Office of Indian Affairs, 1937.
- ²⁰ Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska*, New York: Random House, 1954, p. 368
- ²¹ Walter R. Goldschmidt and Theodore H. Haas, *Possessory Rights of the Natives of Southeast Alaska*. A Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (Mimeographed.) Chicago: Office of Indian Affairs, 1946
- ²² Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska*, New York: Random House, 1954, p. 381
- ²³ The case was *Hynes v. Grimes Packing Company* (337 U.S. 86).
- ²⁴ The Secretary also signed orders for reservations at Barrow and Shungnak in 1949, but they were not approved in local elections.
- ²⁵ The compromise prompted "howls of protest" from the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, the National Congress of the American Indians, the president of the Association of American Indians, the previous Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, and the *Nation*, all of whom maintained that this action denied Native property rights. Claus-M. Naske, *A History of Alaska Statehood*, Lanham: University Press of America, 1985 (1973), p.143-44.
- ²⁶ Lawrence W. Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska*, Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society and Region 10, United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, 1981, pp. 109-110

ment of Agriculture Forest Service, 1981, pp. 125; Robert D. Arnold, *Alaska Native Land Claims* (Anchorage: Alaska Native Foundation, 1978), p. 98.

²⁷ In 1921, a fur farmer sought protection from the Forest Service of his lease from use by Indians, and the Forest Service first suggested he post no trespassing signs. Upon investigation, the Service found that some 2,000 Indians used the area as a fishing site and had 20 buildings there, and the lease was subsequently cancelled by the Forest Service. He reports one other case, but in this one the claims of Indian possession were being used by a white man seeking a federal injunction in 1916 to prevent construction of a dam in an area of a pulpwood sale near Ketchikan, based on Indian use of the drainage for hunting and fishing the rights to which the white man had purportedly acquired from the Indians (the injunction was eventually denied in 1932). Lawrence W. Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska*, Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society and Region 10, United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, 1981, p. 110, 125

²⁸ *United States of America v. George Jim, Senior*, U.S. Department of the Interior Office of Hearings and Appeals, Transcript of Proceedings, Docket No. AA-6561, June 8, 1993, pp. 158-59

²⁹ *Shields v. United States*, 698 F.2d 987, 1983, p. 990

³⁰ Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska*, New York: Random House, 1954, p. 374

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³³ Lawrence W. Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska*, Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society and Region 10, United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, 1981, p. 127

³⁴ Lawrence W. Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska*, Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society and Region 10, United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, 1981, p.119

³⁵ *Hanlon v. United States*, quoting from *Hearings before the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives on H.J. Resolution 205, to Authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to Sell Timber Within the*

Tongass National Forest, 80th Cong., 1st Sess. (1947), p. 9

³⁶ Repeal Act authorizing Secretary of Interior to Create Indian Reservations in Alaska, Hearings on S. 2037 and S. J. Res. 162 Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 80th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1948), cited in Robert E. Price, *The Great Father in Alaska: The Case of the Tlingit and Haida Salmon Fishery*, Douglas: The First Street Press, 1990, p. 123

³⁷ Arguments in *Hanlon v. United States*, quoting from Letter from E.T. Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, to A.L. Miller, Chairman, House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, January 11, 1954, reprinted in *Staff of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, 83rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Reports of the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and Justice on H.R. 1921, A Bill to Settle Possessory Claims in Alaska*, pp. 6-7

³⁸ Senate Report No. 96-413, 96th Cong., 1st Sess., 1979, p. 393. Cited in *Hanlon v. United States*, p. 5-6

³⁹ Justice Douglas, Dissenting, *Tee-Hit-Ton Indians v. United States*, Opinion of the Court, 348 U.S. 272, p. 293-94

Chapter III

Statehood To ANILCA: State, National and Native Interests

Prior to statehood, the federal government owned about 99 percent of Alaska's land. The Statehood Act of 1958 gave the new state authority to select 103.5 million acres from "vacant, unappropriated and unreserved" lands of Alaska. The statehood act also reserved the right of the Congress to recognize prior aboriginal title to lands that the state might select. Alaska Natives protested to the government when the state started to select lands that conflicted with their traditional areas of use and occupancy, and the Secretary of Interior imposed a freeze on further state selections until Congress passed legislation clearing title to Alaska's lands. Following the discovery of oil on the North Slope, the Natives gained an important ally in their quest for recognition of land rights—the petroleum industry—which needed prompt resolution of aboriginal title before the oil could be brought to market.

The passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971 recognized aboriginal claims to Alaska and authorized the transfer of 44 million acres and nearly one billion dollars to Alaska Native corporations in a land settlement and compensation package. Another provision of the act authorized the Secretary of Interior to withdraw up to 80 million acres of federal land for inclusion in existing and new units of federal land management systems (national parks, forests, wildlife refuges and wild and scenic rivers). As these systems entailed restrictions on the development of natural resources, this provision was intended to preserve a portion of Alaska's land from development by the state and Native corporations. Thus, ANCSA had two major parts to it: besides transferring a large amount of Alaska's land to private ownership by Native corporations, ANCSA also protected national interests in Alaska's lands for purposes of conservation and protection of the environment. The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980 carried out the imperatives of the second part of ANCSA. It created new units of federal land management systems, and modified existing ones. It also addressed outstanding subsistence issues that were not resolved as intended by the drafters of ANCSA.

In a sense, ANCSA is an extension of the Statehood Act, which transferred a large portion of federal lands in Alaska to the new state but reserved federal authority to resolve aboriginal claims on the lands. The principal aim of ANCSA was to clear up unresolved issues of aboriginal title, which was accomplished by extending the benefits of land ownership and development opportunities to the Natives of the state. ANILCA is the outcome of another part of ANCSA, which asserted federal authority over additional public land areas

designed to serve the national interest in conservation. But the federal authority to accomplish this end was likewise originally reserved in the Statehood Act.

Alaska Statehood (1959)

Although Territorial Delegate James Wickersham introduced the first Alaska statehood bill to Congress in 1916, momentum for the initiative was weak until after World War II when the growth in Alaska's population and economy, and more concerted action by Alaska's territorial governor (Greuning) and Congressional delegate (Bartlett), led to a new drive for statehood. Until 1940, the regional economy of Alaska was colonial in nature: non-resident commercial interests—chiefly canned salmon, mining, and marine transportation—controlled the means of production. The labor force, seasonal in nature, was non-resident as well.¹ The land and resources were controlled by the federal government while Alaska's representation in Congress was limited to one non-voting territorial delegate in the House of Representatives. The severity of federal mismanagement, particularly of the fishery (salmon) resources, was one of the principal causes of statehood proponents. Another issue was that practically no federal revenues derived from the local resource industries were paid back to the territory to develop and maintain the territorial government and provide services for the local population.

In good measure, statehood was motivated by a desire among the citizens of Alaska to gain local control over Alaska's land and resources in a region that had seen a significant growth in population and infrastructure development associated with military activities during World War II. But economic and political control was maintained by "outside" interests.² In 1945, the Territorial Legislature enacted a pro-statehood resolution, and a group of citizens formed the Alaska Statehood Association which commissioned a study of the pros and cons of statehood. The report predicted that with statehood federal land would become available for settlement and the extraction of resources, and recommended that Alaskans ask the federal government for lands in the Chugach and Tongass national forests for settlement and economic development.³ These land provisions eventually became law. Later, in 1946, Alaska held a statehood referendum with 9,630 voting for statehood and 6,822 against. This was considered a good showing, since there was strong opposition by the absentee interests. Congressional hearings on statehood bills began in 1947, and the House Committee on Public Lands unanimously approved a revised statehood statute early in the next year.⁴

In 1949, the territorial legislature enacted a comprehensive revenue system (including a property and income tax) in part to demonstrate that the people of Alaska could support themselves with statehood. The legislature also appropriated \$80,000 in that year to create the Alaska Statehood Committee to work on behalf of statehood. In 1955-56, 55 elected delegates met and developed a state constitution to provide self-government and end "American colonialism" in Alaska. The constitution was approved by better than a 2-to-1 majority in a referendum held in April of 1956, when voters also approved the election of shadow representatives (two senators and a representative) to go to Congress and work for statehood, following the "Tennessee plan" for achieving statehood. Seven Alaska statehood bills were introduced during the 85th Congress in 1957; and on May 28, 1958 the House passed one of these (H.R. 7999) introduced by Congressman O'Brien of New York. The Senate passed the House bill without amendments on June 30, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the Statehood Act (P.L. 85-508) on July 1, 1958. Alaskans ratified the Act by 83 percent of the vote in a referendum held on August 26, 1958, and Alaska officially became a state of the Union on January 3, 1959, with the signing of a presidential proclamation.⁵

Governors at a Glance

Here is a list of Alaska's governors since statehood, along with their political affiliations and years served:

- William A. Egan, Democrat, 1959 - 1966
- Walter J. Hickel, Republican, 1966 - 1969
- Keith H. Miller, Republican, 1969 - 1970
- William A. Egan, Democrat, 1970 - 1974
- Jay S. Hammond, Republican, 1974 - 1982
- Bill Sheffield, Democrat, 1982 - 1986
- Steve Cowper, Democrat, 1986 - 1990
- Walter J. Hickel, AIP then Republican, 1990 - 1994
- Tony Knowles, Democrat, 1994 - ?

Source: *Juneau Empire*, December 6, 1994

The Constitutional Mandate

The Alaska state constitution provided a broad mandate for the settlement of Alaska's lands and the development of its resources for the use and benefit of its citizens. In anticipation of 100 million acres from the federal domain, and cognizant of the dangers of overexploitation and control by outside interests, the drafters wrote a natural resources article which estab-

lished the state's goals of resource development and use:

to encourage the settlement of its land and the development of its resources by making them available for maximum use consistent with the public interest ...[and] ... to provide for the utilization, development, and conservation of all natural resources belonging to the State, including land and waters, for the maximum benefit of its people.

In addition to surface land, Alaska received title to submerged land in contiguous waters and under navigable waters, all mineral resources on or under its land, and control over fish and wildlife resources. The constitution stipulated that land and resources will be used for community and economic development, but this will be done responsibly, in the public interest and according to conservation principles "for the maximum benefit" of Alaska's people. The constitution included these special stipulations regarding the management of resources:

Wherever occurring in the natural state, fish, wildlife and waters are reserved to the people for common use ... Fish, forests, wildlife, grasslands, and all other replenishable resources belonging to the State shall be utilized, developed, and maintained on a sustained yield principle, subject to preferences among beneficial uses.⁶

This "common use" provision became significant after the passage of ANILCA, which included a provision recognizing a rural preference on all federal lands for hunting, fishing, gathering and barter of wild resources that was in conflict with this constitutional stipulation. In the late 1980s the federal government took over management of fish and game on public lands to ensure that subsistence uses were protected after the state was unable to come up with a resolution of this conflict.

The constitution also granted specific authorities to the legislature to provide for the selection of lands granted to the state by the federal government, for the sale or grant of these lands to citizens, and for the acquisition of areas of natural beauty or with recreational, historic, cultural or scientific value for the use and enjoyment of the people. It guaranteed free access to navigable waters of the state to any citizen of the United States or Alaska. In response to the past domination by the commercial fishing industry and the consequences of unregulated use of fish traps, the constitution expressly stated that "No exclusive right or special privilege of fishery shall be created or authorized in the natural

waters of the State.” These provisions cleared away “the ambivalence of past federal management policy, which fluctuated between controlled sustained yield harvesting and loose exploitation, and between resident and nonresident orientation in its basic objectives.”⁷

The Alaska Statehood Act - 1958

Alaska officially became a state in 1959 when the President signed a proclamation of statehood, which followed an election in Alaska ratifying the 1958 Alaska Statehood Act. The beneficial objectives of Alaska statehood, as reported by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, were to reverse the pre-existing federal domination of Alaska affairs, to “open up many of the resources of Alaska” and to provide continuous representation in Congress to sustain efforts to revise federal policy “necessary to further the economic growth of Alaska.”⁸ Entitlement to Alaska’s lands and natural resources was the key to the future development and settlement of Alaska, goals which were enshrined in the constitution and conveyed in the statehood act. Special provisions regarding access to and control over these lands and resources were included in the statehood act in recognition that, during territorial days, the federal government owned over 99 percent of Alaska’s land and withdrew:

from public use many of the more valuable resources of the Territory through creation of tremendous Federal reservations for the furtherance of the programs of the various Federal agencies. Thus, approximately 95 million acres — more than one-fourth of the total area of Alaska — is today enclosed within various types of Federal withdrawals or reservations. Much of the remaining area of Alaska is covered by glacier, mountains, and worthless tundra. Thus it appeared to the committee that this tremendous acreage of withdrawals might well embrace a preponderance of the more valuable resources needed by the new State to develop flourishing industries with which to support itself and its people.⁹

In contrast with other states, the historical federal control and management of Alaska’s land and resource base was a special condition, one which established the foundation for the singular and distinctive land provisions in the Alaska statehood act.

The principal land provisions in the statehood act were federal land grants to the new state including 800,000 acres for community development and expansion and 102.55 million acres for general selection by the state. This left about 60 percent of Alaska’s lands in federal

hands. The purpose of the land grants was to provide for a viable economy in the new state.¹⁰

To ensure that lands of value were granted to the state, the statehood act gave the state the right to select lands of known mineral character, specifically including areas under federal lease for coal, oil or gas development, including the first rights to reserved coal lands that may be restored to the public domain in the future. Other provisions ensured the state would receive significant portions of the revenues from federal mineral leases, including 90 percent of profits from the operation of government coal mines and 52.5 percent of net proceeds realized from coal, phosphates, oil, oil shale and sodium on the public domain. Finally, the House committee offered the opinion that the state and federal government should conduct a “vigorous program of restudying of the needs of the various federal agencies for land in Alaska.”¹¹

State Selections from National Forests

Of the 800,000 acres of federal land made available to the state for community expansion under the statehood act, 400,000 were designated to come from the Chugach and Tongass National Forests.¹² This land was made available for the purposes of furthering the expansion of existing communities, the development of prospective communities, and community recreation needs, in the regions that were withdrawn and reserved as national forests in the beginning of the century. The national forest selections are commonly referred to as National Forest Community Grant (NFCG) lands. The statehood act granted 25 years to the state to complete selections, but with the passage of ANCSA, which gave Native regional and village corporations rights to selections within the forests and authorized substantial additional federal withdrawals in the national interest, the time limit was extended 10 years in ANILCA to allow additional time for resolution of disputes over multiple and overlapping selections.¹³ The state’s final land selections were due by January 2, 1994.

The state’s selection activity proceeded very slowly until 1977, when 250,000 acres were selected. Based on their interpretation of the purposes for such land selections as specified in the statehood act, the Forest Service disapproved of over 50,000 acres of the state’s selections which resulted in litigation with the state. The litigation was finally settled in early 1988. The state selected another 57,000 acres in 1982 and completed the remaining selections in 1989. These efforts “represent the state’s last major opportunity to influence land ownership patterns within the national forests.”¹⁴

To gain Forest Service approval, state selections had to be 1) adjacent to established communities; 2) suitable for community centers; or 3) suitable for prospective community recreation areas. These criteria were upheld by the courts, and selections were not approved for other purposes, such as timber harvest, mineral extraction, or as the site of a fish hatchery or log transfer facility. Selections were intended "to satisfy the long-range needs and goals of Alaskans residing within or adjacent to national forests and to encourage a rational pattern of recreation, settlement and growth."¹⁵

State selections were held in check by the freeze on all withdrawals imposed by the Secretary of Interior in 1966, after Alaska Natives began to file extensive protests against the state's selections that covered areas of traditional use for subsistence and trapping activities. The freeze remained in effect until the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971. However, state selections were also affected by another provision of ANCSA, Section 17(d)(2), which authorized the Secretary to withdraw 83 million acres of public domain land for future selection in the national interest. These "d-2" lands were later added to existing federal land management systems in the Alaska National Interest Lands and Conservation Act of 1980.

Statehood and Aboriginal Title

The Alaska Statehood Act included a disclaimer to property rights, held either by the United States or by Indians, Eskimos or Aleuts, which were to remain under federal jurisdiction until disposed of by the government or by Congress. This provision was included in the Compact with United States (Section 4 of the Act, as amended):

As a compact with the United States said State and its people do agree and declare that they forever disclaim all right and title to any lands or other property not granted or confirmed to the State or its political subdivisions by or under the authority of this Act, the right or title to which is held by the United States or is subject to disposition by the United States, and to any lands or other property (including fishing rights), the right or title to which may be held by any Indians, Eskimos, or Aleuts (hereinafter called natives) or is held by the United States in trust for said natives; that all such lands or other property (including fishing rights), the right or title to which may be held by said natives or is held by the United States in trust for said natives, shall be and remain under the absolute jurisdiction and control of the United States until disposed of under its authority, except to such extent as the Congress

has prescribed or may hereafter prescribe, and except when held by individual natives in fee without restrictions on alienation....

The section also specified that the clause in no way affects any existing claim against the United States (such as the Tlingit and Haida land claims suit proceeding at this time) and exempted from taxation any lands or property that may belong to Natives or is held in trust for them.

The intent of this clause was to leave unimpaired the rights of Alaska Natives to compensation from the United States for their land and possessory claims, which may be decided at some time in the future. The legislative history of the statehood act does not identify a Congressional intent underlying its treatment of Native use and occupancy, which suggests that Congress chose to bypass the question in this legislation because Congress was principally concerned with achieving statehood rather than resolving Native land claims. But the statehood act is important insofar as it is a significant part of the background of ANCSA and contributes to an understanding of legislative intent in the settlement act.¹⁶

The disclaimer clause regarding Native claims was first proposed in 1947 by the Acting Secretary for the Interior Warner W. Gardner, who objected that Native rights were not protected in draft statehood legislation. He proposed that the state and its people forever disclaim both the right and the title to all land ... owned or held by Natives or Native "tribes, the right or title to which shall have been acquired through or from the United States or any prior sovereignty...." Until the United States either disposed of or extinguished title to such land, it would remain within the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government and not be taxable by the state.¹⁷ This guarantee of Native rights was also sought by James Curry, the lawyer for the Alaska Native Brotherhood and who also represented the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska in their land claims against the United States. These land provisions were opposed by various federal agencies and national conservation groups, but statehood proponents did not object.

In 1950, the Senate expanded the language defining property rights to include "any lands or other property (including fishing rights)" but deleted reference to rights or titles which had been acquired from "any prior sovereignty." This change probably shows the influence of the Miller decision, discussed in the previous chapter, which held that the Treaty of Cession had transferred

title to Alaska lands from the Russian to the United States government, with the exception of individual holdings.¹⁸ Thus, as the language was eventually adopted in the statehood act, Congress reserved for itself the right to recognize Native claims to lands they used and occupied at the time of the transfer, and placed this condition within the terms of the statehood act.

The issue of Native land rights was brought to the Alaska constitutional convention by M.R. Marston, wartime organizer of the original Eskimo National Guard. He believed that the new state should, based on moral values, recognize aboriginal rights to areas Natives were using and occupying for fishing, hunting and trapping. He proposed a constitutional amendment to instruct the future state legislature to "translate" into 160-acre homesteads or land grants the traditional land rights of Alaska Natives. Although a disclaimer regarding Native lands was adopted, Marston's amendment was rejected.

Marston had firm supporters who agreed that the convention must do justice to the Alaska Natives. Others, however, expressed concern about interfering with the federal responsibility for safeguarding and compensating aboriginal rights and raised doubts about the state's ability to implement the intent of the Marston amendment. Various delegates also objected to language, to the amount of land involved, and to the special treatment proposed for one class of Alaskans. It was also noted that since 1906, Alaska Natives had by federal statute been entitled to 160-acre allotments, and that their occupancy could be taken care of under existing law.¹⁹

The measure was rejected after undergoing successive revisions from the floor, which put it into an unrecognizable form. Writing about this debate, Fischer concluded, "Thus, the proposal for granting land rights to Alaska Natives went down to defeat without ever coming to a direct vote on the basic issues involved."²⁰ As in this instance, subsequent state proposals to protect Native land rights were frequently impeded by the realization that the ultimate authority for settling the issue was reserved by Congress. On the other hand, early efforts by the newly established state to select lands without regard for the traditional use and occupancy of Alaska Natives prompted events that led the federal government to step in and protect Native interests in lands until Congress enacted a Native claims land settlement in 1971.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971

Congress finds and declares that (a) there is an immediate need for a fair and just settlement of all claims by Natives and Native groups of Alaska, based on aboriginal land claims; (b) the settlement should be accomplished rapidly, with certainty, in conformity with the real economic and social needs of Natives, without litigation, with maximum participation by Natives in decisions affecting their rights and property... (ANCSA, Section 2(b))

ANCSA was the largest and most innovative aboriginal land claims settlement in American history. The incentive behind ANCSA had most to do with petroleum development on Alaska's North Slope. As a result of this settlement Alaska Natives received title to 44 million acres of land — more than all other American Indian reservations combined — and \$962.5 million in compensation — nearly four times the total amount awarded by the Indian Claims Commission over its 25-year lifetime — for their claims to the remaining area. Congress devised a new vehicle for the granting of title to land in the form of corporations: land and monetary distributions were to be managed as corporate assets. Alaska Natives were enrolled as stockholders in these corporations.

As Justice Berger has written, "By its terms, Alaska Natives would have land, capital, corporations and opportunities to enter the business world."²¹ The corporate mechanism for the settlement was both a rejection of past models — reservations and tribal governments — and an attempt to improve the social and economic conditions of Alaskan villages by providing a means for Native people to go into business and participate actively in the economic development of Alaska. While Congress recognized the necessity of land as a base for the Native subsistence economy, it regarded as paramount the use of the land as a resource base for economic development:

In determining the amount of land to be granted to the Natives, the Committee took into consideration the land needed for ordinary village sites and village expansion, the land needed for a subsistence hunting and fishing economy by many of the Natives, and the land needed by the Natives as a form of capital for economic development. The acreage occupied by villages and needed for normal village expansion is less than 1,000,000

acres. While some of the remaining 39,000,000 acres may be selected by the Natives because of its subsistence use, most of it will be selected for its economic potential.²²

There are inherent contradictions between the land requirements of the subsistence economy in Alaska Native villages and the capital, resource-development needs of profit-making Native corporations.²³ Also, since the Native subsistence economy was dependent upon a larger land base than that transferred under ANCSA, the act did not adequately protect Native hunting, fishing and gathering rights from encroachment. This subsistence question, which was a major concern of the regional Native associations seeking recognition of land claims, was deferred to subsequent legislation, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980 (ANILCA).

In addition to the settlement of aboriginal land claims, ANCSA also revived the issue of federal entitlement to Alaska lands. Section 17 created a joint Federal-State planning commission to determine the use of 80 million acres of land withdrawn from the public domain for consideration as national parks, wildlife refuges, national forests, or wild and scenic rivers. These proposed areas became known as D(2) lands. The identification of these lands, and their allocation among different purposes under the management of different federal agencies, occurred in legislation passed in 1980, the ANILCA, and are discussed in later chapters. The impact of statehood, ANCSA, and ANILCA on national forest management is a continually unfolding story.

Events Leading Up to ANCSA

Shortly after statehood, encroachments upon traditional areas used by Alaska Natives for their hunting, fishing and gathering economy stimulated protests and the development of regional Native associations to pursue protection of their land and subsistence rights and the improvement of social and economic conditions in their villages. In the mid-1960s, a statewide Native organization was formed that carried these objectives forward at a state and national level. At about the same time, the Department of Interior imposed a land freeze on state land selections until the issues of aboriginal claims could be settled. Following the discovery of vast oil deposits in Prudhoe Bay on Alaska's North Slope in 1968, the interests of the oil industry coincided with those of Alaska Natives seeking a timely solution to their claims. The Nixon Republican administration was receptive to these interests and assisted in pursuing a legislative remedy, which ultimately resulted in the

passage of the ANCSA in December of 1971.

In 1960, Inupiat Eskimos in Barrow protested the arrest of a fellow Inupiat state representative for taking a duck out of season, a season established by an international migratory bird treaty that included no acknowledgement of customary and traditional practices of Alaska's Native peoples. Known as the Barrow "Duck-In," 138 other men presented themselves for arrest to federal game wardens. All charges were subsequently dropped with warnings against future violations. Not far away near the Inupiat village of Point Hope, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission once planned to detonate a nuclear device to create a harbor for the shipment of minerals and other resources from the area, in an experiment named Project Chariot. Residents of nearby villages expressed concern for their health and that of the animals and plants upon which they depended for their livelihood.²⁴ These events led to the formation of the first regional Native association in Alaska (the Inupiat Paitot, the People's Heritage) since the establishment in 1912 of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in southeast Alaska. Membership in Inupiat Paitot was comprised of village representatives from northern and northwestern Alaska.

In central Alaska, another protest developed in 1961 over one of the state's land selections under the statehood act. The state wanted to develop the area near the Athapaskan village of Minto as a recreation area, to put in a road for Fairbanks residents and visiting sports hunters, and ultimately to develop the area for its oil and gas potential. The village of Minto filed a protest over this selection with the Department of Interior, since it conflicted with their hunting, fishing and trapping activities. By 1963, 24 villages in the Yukon River delta, Bristol Bay, Aleutian Islands, and Alaska Peninsula regions voiced similar concerns, and sent a petition to the Interior Secretary requesting a land freeze on selections near their villages until Native land rights could be confirmed. At this same time, proposed federal land withdrawals also provoked protests. Most notable was the Rampart Dam project on the Yukon River, which would have created electric power and a recreation area but would have flooded numerous Athapaskan villages and a large area used for hunting, fishing and traplines.

A Department of Interior (DOI) report, completed by the three-member Alaska Task Force on Native Affairs, recognized aboriginal land rights and concluded that Congress should remedy the failure of successive Congresses to carry out the expectations of the Organic Act of 1884, which left to future legislation the establish-

ment of the means by which Natives could obtain title to land. In another arena, national figures and groups urged President Kennedy to propose legislation to settle aboriginal land claims and halt transfers of land until such action was completed. The legislative solution had the support of Native groups in Alaska, who regarded existing mechanisms — reserves, allotments and homesites — as wholly inadequate to protect their land rights. This position was also supported by conclusions drawn from the experience of the Tlingit and Haida settlement, which showed that a court settlement took too long and resulted in insufficient compensation (in this case, based on land values in 1907, the time the Tongass National Forest was established). Furthermore, the fact that courts were not able to grant title to land was also a fundamental concern.

Besides the need to protect the subsistence economy, Native leaders also expressed concerns over the poor social and economic conditions in Native villages including inferior health care, substandard housing, lack of water and sewer systems, inadequate educational programs, incidents of discrimination, and lack of employment opportunities for Natives. They reasoned that a land settlement would assist them to improve these socioeconomic conditions. Regional Alaska Native organizations continued to form throughout the early 1960s, and there were incipient discussions of a statewide Native association. During this period, organizational work in villages was furthered through funding from President Johnson's Office of Economic Opportunity to the state's community action program, which sent representatives to the villages.

In early 1966, the Arctic Slope Native Organization made a claim to all land on Alaska's North Slope, 58 million acres, based on aboriginal use and occupancy. By 1967, 39 protests had been filed with DOI for a total of 380 million acres, more than the total area of the state due to overlapping claims.²⁵ In October of 1966, seventeen Native organizations met and agreed to establish a statewide organization that later adopted the name of the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN). The organization's land claims committee recommended that a land freeze be established on all federal lands until Native claims were resolved, that Congress enact legislation to settle claims, and that hearings and consultations be established with Natives immediately.

Before the end of 1966, Interior Secretary Udall imposed a freeze on the transfer to the state of lands claimed by Natives until Congress could act on the issue. In response to Governor Hickel's objection that the stoppage denied the state its rights to select lands

under the statehood act, the Secretary pointed out that both the statehood compact and the Organic Act of 1884 recognized the existence of Native land rights, and that state selections could not continue until Congress enacted a settlement. He felt that to do otherwise would allow title to pass into non-Native possession, which would violate the 1884 federal guarantee that Alaska Natives shall not be disturbed in their use and occupation of lands.²⁶ The state then filed a lawsuit to require the Secretary to transfer lands to the state. This suit was put to rest in 1970 when the Supreme Court refused to review a lower court's adverse ruling against the state.

In the following year, the state convened a Land Claims Task Force, comprised of state and AFN representatives, which in 1968 recommended the basic form which was eventually adopted in the ensuing settlement: the Natives would receive land and money, and the settlement would be carried out by village and regional business corporations.²⁷ Alaska's Senator Gruening introduced this proposed bill into Congress and held hearings in Anchorage. Before leaving office after the 1968 election of Nixon's republican administration, Secretary Udall issued an order making the land freeze permanent. However, Governor Hickel, having been nominated as the new Secretary of Interior, pledged to undo this order. After intensive Congressional lobbying by AFN which threatened Hickel's confirmation hearings, the organization was able to extract a promise from the nominee to maintain the land freeze until the end of 1970, in exchange for their endorsement.

In 1968, Congress initiated its own study of Native land claims and protests, entitled *Alaska Natives and the Land*. The validity of land claims was supported by the conclusions of this study. Moreover, the researchers reported that Alaska Natives used all of the biological resources of Alaska's land and contiguous waters, confirming the aboriginal use and occupancy of nearly the entire state. They also wrote that the specific land legislation passed for Alaska Natives — the Alaska Native Allotment Act of 1906 and the Townsite Act of 1926 — failed to meet their land needs.²⁸ But the report emphasized that economic development was a central issue in the resolution of Native protests, since the form of the settlement would be crucial to the future development of the state as a whole. In proposing a solution, it considered the probable effects on the economic status of Alaska Natives and on Alaska's general economic development.

For elements of the settlement, the Congressional report emphasized the necessity of land for present

Native use and occupancy, including subsistence use, as well as compensation in the form of money, land and interests in land (including participation in future revenues from land or resources). It acknowledged two approaches in protecting Native assets and the public interest — reservations and Native development corporations — that had been presented in bills before Congress. The study recommendations became the basis of a bill introduced in 1969 by Senator Henry Jackson of Washington state, with provisions for land and monetary compensation without reservations. The land allocation (10 million acres) was meager; however, the proposed cash settlement approached one billion dollars. Later in the year, further impetus for a substantial financial settlement was received from the state's oil lease sale for the Prudhoe Bay region, which reaped the state over \$900 million.

The draft legislation did not move forward in 1970, but three bills were introduced in the 1971 session which proposed differing amounts of land and money. Fearing an unsuitable version might pass, the AFN approached the White House directly for support of a more favorable measure. Their efforts held the interest of the oil industry, which was facing delays in gaining DOI permits to proceed with the construction of an oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to a shipping terminus in Valdez in Prince William Sound. With the assistance of these oil interests, associated businesses and Alaska's Republican Senator Stevens, AFN representatives succeeded in convincing the administration to introduce another settlement proposal to Congress. This proposal became the basis of a final bill which was approved by Congress in December. Following a referendum approved by 511 of 567 AFN delegates, with North Slope representatives in dissent, President Nixon signed ANCSA into law on December 18, 1971.

The ANCSA Settlement

ANCSA provided for the transfer of 44 million acres, or about ten percent, of Alaska's land and payment of \$962.5 million to Alaska Native corporations in the settlement of claims of aboriginal title to Alaska's land and water areas. The law called for the creation of regional and village corporations to manage the settlement lands and money as corporate assets. To receive benefits of the act, Alaska Natives were enrolled as stockholders in these corporations. As of 1985, 80,000 Natives were enrolled under the act, as amended. Twelve regional and over 200 village Native corporations were established in Alaska, and provision was made for a 13th regional corporation comprised of out-of-state residents.

The act declared that aboriginal title to prior conveyances of federal land and water areas, including tentative approvals under the statehood act, was extinguished. All claims of aboriginal title in Alaska based on use and occupancy of land and water areas, including aboriginal hunting and fishing rights, were also extinguished. ANCSA also extinguished all aboriginal claims against federal and state governments, and individuals, including those pending before the courts or the Indian Claims Commission (such as the case with Tlingit and Haida claims to fishing rights in southeast Alaskan waters). Finally, the act terminated Native allotment legislation and revoked all reservations in Alaska with the exception of the Metlakatla Reserve on Annette Island in southeast Alaska.

The act authorized the Secretary of Interior to withdraw public lands surrounding the listed villages, and lands of similar character from the nearest available area if such contiguous lands were insufficient to meet the corporate entitlements, and to make these lands available for selection by Native corporations. This provision applied to lands available for selection under the statehood act; only lands already in the National Park System or reserved for national defense purposes were excepted. The Secretary was entitled to withdraw up to three times the "deficiency," the difference between a village corporation's entitlement and what was available in contiguous townships, from other available tracts of public land. The complexities that arose over corporation selections, combined with subsequent provisions such as that allowing both corporations and the state to "overselect" lands, are partly the reason that corporations have not, more than 20 years after passage of the act, received their full land entitlement.

The Corporation Vehicle

All eligible Natives became stockholders in one or two Native corporations, which received and managed nearly all of the settlement land and money. Persons of at least one-quarter Alaska Eskimo, Indian or Aleut blood quantum who were alive on December 18, 1971, were qualified to enroll and receive 100 shares of stock in the Native corporations. Enrollment was also according to geographical location, which was based on residency defined as where persons were living at the time of the federal census in 1970, or where their ancestral family home was, or where they intended to have their principal residence if they were temporarily away from home.

Alaska Natives were enrolled both to their local village corporation and to the regional corporation established

for the region in which the village was located. Individuals who were living outside the region, or outside the state, were entitled to enroll back to their region. Natives who elected not to be enrolled in a village, or who were enrolled to a place that was not eligible for land and monetary benefits as a village, were enrolled as "at-large" shareholders in the regional corporation. These individuals received their proportionate share of the monetary distributions (from the cash settlement and from regional corporation stock dividends) in the form of direct payments, but they did not receive benefits of village corporation shareholders (such as stock, dividends, land grants, or other distributions). About one-third of ANCSA enrollees are at-large. Members of the 13th region were entitled to cash benefits, but did not receive land.

Title to 22 million acres was received by more than 200 village corporations; the land was divided up proportionally among the corporations based on population. Another 16 million acres were distributed among six regional corporations according to a complex formula based on population and area; the Sealaska region was excepted from this distribution in recognition of the prior Tlingit and Haida land settlement in that region. Up to two million acres were set aside for specific purposes such as cemetery sites and historical places, conveyances to Native groups, four Native groups residing in Sitka, Juneau, Kodiak and Kenai (which later formed the third type of Native corporation known as "urban"), and Native allotments, with the remainder to be allocated among all 12 regional corporations. Finally, about four million acres were conveyed to six villages which elected to receive title to the lands of their former reserves in lieu of other ANCSA benefits (including cash distributions).

The cash settlement was derived from federal and state sources. \$462 million was to be paid out over the 11 years from the federal treasury, while \$500 million would be procured from a two percent annual royalty on mineral leases on state and federal lands. Payments of settlement funds were made to regional corporations, which were required to pass on to village corporations at least 45 percent (later raised to 50 percent) after allowing for payments to "at-large" shareholders. Regional corporations were to follow a similar procedure in distributing any payments received from regional corporation profit-sharing provisions (called "7(i)" distributions) to the village corporations in their region.

Several special provisions differentiate ANCSA corporations from other business corporations in the state. Natives were to be the only voting shareholders in

these corporations for 20 years, a provision that was subsequently extended indefinitely (unless and until a majority of shareholders decide otherwise).²⁹ Village corporations received only the surface title to their lands. Regional corporations were granted the sub-surface estate to 40 million acres, including the lands of their village corporations, as well as the surface rights to their own land. The five former reserve villages received both surface and sub-surface rights in their lands, but no additional lands. The section 7(i) provision requires each regional corporation to share 70 percent of their profits generated by development of mineral and timber resources on their lands among all regional corporations, including itself, on a per capita basis. The regional corporations are, in turn, required to distribute at least 50 percent of these revenues to the village corporations and at-large shareholders in their region. The intent of this provision was to remedy inequities arising from the differential distribution of natural resources throughout the various regions of the state.

The ANCSA Settlement and the Alaska Forests

National forests currently are located in three regions that correspond with Native regional corporations. The Tongass National Forest spans the region of southeast Alaska, or Sealaska Corporation, identified with the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian Indians. The Chugach National Forest is associated with the region of the Chugach Eskimo, who organized Chugach Natives, Inc., later changed to Chugach Alaska Corporation, and with the Cook Inlet Region, Inc. (CIRI), on the Kenai Peninsula. These regional corporations, and the villages within their regions, were entitled to select lands from the public domain, subject to prior rights such as lands patented to others, certain federal holdings, mining claims and lands under navigable waters. Villages were authorized to select areas on the basis of population, starting with a minimum amount of 69,120 acres for villages with a population between 25 and 99, and up to 161,280 acres with a population of 600 or more. National Forest lands were available for selection by Native corporations, although there were certain restrictions that applied in each region as described below.

In addition to specific provisions regarding land selections that applied in the Tongass and Chugach regions, there were other sections pertaining to National Forest System lands in Alaska. ANCSA provided authority for the modification of timber sale contracts affected by

conveyances to Native corporations (section 15). The act allowed the Secretary of Agriculture to accommodate such conveyances by substituting timber on other National Forest lands approximately equal in volume, species, grade and accessibility. Concerns over the continued availability of commercial timber lands, which arose with respect to Forest Service commitments under the long-term timber sale agreements, led to a provision in ANILCA that required the Forest Service to study and report on the feasibility of buying back harvested timberlands from the Native corporations.³⁰

Section 22(k) required that for lands conveyed to Native corporations from within national forests, any sale of timber shall be under the same timber export restrictions as are applicable to national forests in Alaska for five years. The section also commanded that such lands shall be managed under sustained yield and environmental quality standards no less stringent than those practiced on national forests for a period of 12 years. According to Knapp, these provisions were never enforced, in practice, because ANCSA did not clearly assign implementation authority among federal agencies and because the authorized time periods had expired before the lands were developed.³¹

This latter provision was no doubt included with an understanding of the development process characteristic of private corporations. It is interesting to observe that the issue of commercial development of timberland at the expense of multiple use management objectives was described as one of the economic consequences of land grants to Native corporations prior to the passage of ANCSA, in the 1969 Congressional report on land claims. But the study also identifies corresponding benefits that would accrue to the corporations and their shareholders:

On balance, ownership by Native corporations, like private ownership in general, would probably result in a more rapid rate of development and a greater concern for maximizing the economic returns from the land resources than would management by government agencies. For instance, Native corporations would probably not require primary processing of extractive products or "sustained-yield" timber management except where they were clearly justified in dollar terms. Native corporations in attempting to maximize their net incomes from the land would pursue a multiple-use policy, and in doing so would probably be able to resolve conflicts among competing *commercial* land uses more economically and more satisfactorily than would government. On the other hand, to the extent their

policies reflected a single-minded concern with the commercial revenues of the land, they might be less concerned than would government with such nonmonetary and collective values as those of wilderness and scenery.

... Grants of commercially valuable land managed for its income by Native corporations could be expected to provide an income flow to individual families and to provide a source of capital which Native enterprise could invest in other lines of business and capital for community improvements. It would also provide openings for the development of Native managerial talent.³²

Looking back with the benefit of hindsight some twenty years after the passage of ANCSA, the general supposition that ANCSA corporations would create a significant income flow to Native families has proven to be a hypothesis that was not born out by subsequent events. For example, for shareholders of regional corporations, cumulative real dividends (with the high and low amount removed to indicate the more general trend) have ranged from \$60 to \$2,500 each, depending on the region.³³

The Tongass

Sealaska was the largest of the regional corporations in the number of shareholders: 15,782 were enrolled at the end of 1985, about 20 percent of total Alaska Native enrollment.³⁴ More than half of these live in southeastern Alaska. In addition to the regional corporation, twelve community Native corporations (10 village and 2 urban) were organized. At the first stockholders meeting of Sealaska, a prominent figure in the land claims struggle and the President of the Tlingit and Haida Central Council, John Borbridge, Jr., was elected president. The location of the corporate headquarters is Juneau, the state capital.

Sealaska Corporation received a small amount of land, relative to other regions, in recognition of the benefits received by Tlingit and Haida Indians under the Tlingit and Haida settlement. Sealaska was excluded from the principal distribution of 16 million acres of land among regional corporations (Section 12(b)), but it was entitled to select land for cemetery sites and historical places. It also received a proportionate allocation, based on population, of lands remaining from the 2 million acre set-aside that were to be conveyed to regional corporations under Section 14(h)(8).

ANCSA recognized ten southeastern villages that were eligible to form corporations and select lands in the

region (see Table 1). One of these, Klukwan, initially elected to receive transfer of its reservation lands in fee simple (surface and sub-surface) in lieu of selecting land for the village corporation as in the remaining nine villages. But later, when it was realized that non-resident shareholders were not entitled to royalties generated from the former reserve lands since they accrued only to members of the village IRA, the corporation was permitted by amendment to make selections as other villages in return for transferring the former reserve lands back to the village IRA. Members enrolled to the village of Metlakatla are not entitled to any ANCSA benefits because their reserve was expressly sustained by ANCSA. The Annette Island Reserve was exempted from the provision revoking reservations in Alaska, and in consequence it remains as the only Indian reservation in the state.

The ten southeast villages were recognized in a specific section of ANCSA distinct from the other Alaskan villages. Section 16 listed the southeastern villages and declared that they each were entitled to an allocation of 23,040 acres (one township), in contrast to other villages which were authorized to select larger areas on the basis of population. Section 16 acknowledged the favorable land claims judgement of the Tlingit and Haida Indians against the United States in the Court of Claims, and explained that the compensation already received was "in lieu" of a larger share of the lands in the region. To the extent possible, these selections were to be in areas within or contiguous to townships in which the villages were located. Because there were no such lands of any value available in the vicinity of Klukwan, the village corporation, Klukwan, Inc., was later exempted from the restriction, enabling the village to select lands elsewhere.

Two other southeast communities were able to form village corporations and select lands under a special provision, Section 14(h)(3), which authorized the conveyance of land in an equal amount (23,040 acres) to the Native residents of Sitka, Juneau, Kenai and Kodiak. The two corporations in Juneau and Sitka, known as "urban" corporations, increased to 13 the number of community Native corporations in southeast Alaska. The apparent intent of this stipulation was to recognize the special circumstances of some Native communities that were originally located on the site of an historical Native settlement, but had become circumscribed by the growth and development of a large "modern and urban" community in which Natives were in the minority.³⁵

The thirteen Native corporations in southeast Alaska were entitled to select about 540,000 acres from the Tongass National Forest.⁴³

Table III.1: Southeast Alaska

Community	Original Corporation Name	Shareholders ³⁶	ANCSA Land Entitlement ³⁷
Angoon	Kootznoowoo, Inc.	629	34,000 ³⁸ (acres)
Craig	Shaan-Seet, Inc.	317	23,040
Hoonah	Huna Totem, Inc.	876	23,040
Hydaburg	Haida Corporation	565	17,836 ³⁹
Kake	Kake Tribal Corp.	558	23,040
Kasaan	Kavilco, Inc.	120	23,040
Klawock	Klawock Heenya Corp.	508	23,040
Klukwan	Klukwan, Inc.	253	23,040
Saxman Cape	Fox Corporation	196	23,040
Yakutat Yak-Tat	Kwaan, Inc.	342	23,040
Total Village Corps.:		4,364	236,156
Juneau	Goldbelt, Inc.	2,722	26,070 ⁴⁰
Sitka	Shee Atika, Inc.	1,863	31,316 ⁴¹
Total Urban Corporations:		4,585	57,386
Region Sealaska Corporation		15,782 ⁴²	310,692

In 1993, Congress directed the Secretary of the Interior to study the eligibility status of five other southeastern communities with Native residents—Haines, Ketchikan, Petersburg, Tenakee, and Wrangell—and to compile information about whether Congress had inadvertently denied village recognition under ANCSA.⁴⁴ These "modern and urban" villages located on or near historical Native settlements, were not listed in ANCSA as eligible to form corporations and select lands in the region. Depending on the outcome of the efforts by members of these communities to gain recognition under ANCSA, there may be additional villages in the southeast region with rights to select lands from within the Tongass National Forest.

The Chugach

More than half of the region of the Chugach Alaska Corp. lies within the Chugach National Forest. There are five recognized villages in the region, including three which are situated within the Chugach National Forest: Eyak (Cordova), Tatitlek and Chenega Bay (see Table Two). Chugach shareholders also live in Valdez, Seward, Anchorage and out-of-state. The four Native corporations (one regional and three village) will eventually receive about 650-700,000 acres from the Chugach National Forest.⁴⁵ There were 1,908 stockholders enrolled in Chugach Alaska Corporation in

1985. One of the region's leading proponents of aboriginal rights, Cecil Barnes, was elected as the corporation's first president. The corporate offices are located in Anchorage.

Table III.2: Chugach Region ANCSA Corporations				
Community	Original Corporation Name	Shareholders ⁴⁶	ANCSA Land Entitlement ⁴⁷	
<i>Inside the Chugach National Forest Boundaries:</i>			<u>Sec. 12a</u>	<u>Sec. 12b</u>
Chenega Bay	Chenega Corporation	69	69,120	6,973
Eyak	Eyak, Inc.	326	115,200	33,530
Tatitlek	Tatitlek Corporation	215	115,200	22,046
<i>Outside the Chugach National Forest Boundaries:</i>				
Nanwalek	Nanwalek Corporation	716	9,120	7,280
Port Graham	Port Graham Corporation	190	92,160	9,482
Region	Chugach Alaska Corp.	1,908 ⁴⁸	338,665	38,887

Note: as described above, there were limitations to the number of acres that village corporations located within the Chugach National Forest were able to select from the forest. Chugach Alaska Corp. entitlements were under Sec. 12c and 14(h)8.

One of the ANCSA selection limitations was that a village may not select more than 69,120 acres from within a national forest (Section 12 (a) (1)). While this did not affect villages in southeast Alaska, due to the provisions acknowledging the Tlingit and Haida settlement, it applied to Chugach villages. For example, Eyak Corporation was entitled to select five townships, or 115,200 acres.⁴⁹ Eyak selected all the land available to it within the core township, as it was required to do, as well as nearby townships. Because it lies within the boundaries of the Chugach National Forest, and its selections exceeded the allowable limits for selections within national forests, it had to choose two of its townships from so-called deficiency lands (federal lands set aside for Native conveyance outside the lands available near communities) outside the forest.

Limitations on land selections within the national forests ultimately led to a dispute between the Forest Service and the Chugach Alaska Natives, who felt that they were denied lands they used traditionally and were restricted to glaciers and mountain tops that were not suitable for development purposes as envisioned under the act. Working through Congressional channels, a provision was included in ANILCA which called for a study of this issue. A cooperative project involving the Forest Service, State of Alaska, USDOl, and Chugach

Natives, Inc. was carried out, and in 1982 representatives of the groups signed the Chugach Natives' Settlement Agreement which addressed the problem.

Unresolved Problems: Subsistence

On the face of it, ANCSA declared that all aboriginal titles, including hunting and fishing rights, are extinguished.⁵⁰ But the legislative history reveals that the protection of subsistence rights was a component of earlier bills, and although the provision was dropped from the final version, the conference committee report referred specifically to the authority of the Secretary of Interior to ensure such protection. When neither the state nor the federal government acted on the promise, the Alaska Native leadership took advantage of the opportunity entailed in Section 17(d)(2) to remedy this shortcoming. Through a political compromise with the environmental lobby, they were able to garner enough support for the inclusion of a subsistence provision in ANILCA that further protects Native subsistence rights. The legislative history of ANCSA documents that the protection of subsistence was a key element in the land claims settlement throughout the legislative process. The first AFN draft bill emphasized subsistence protection, and the final Senate land claims bill (S. 35) included "elaborate" provisions protecting Native subsistence.⁵¹

Protection of the Native subsistence economy, of the resources used in "the indigenous economy" and of Native access to these stocks are all salient points discussed in the Congressional study of land claims, *Alaska Natives and the Land*. Indeed, the first of three proposed elements of the settlement is "the grant or protection of lands and land rights now used by Alaska Natives for townsites, hunting and fishing camps, and subsistence hunting, fishing and other food and fuel gathering areas," and lands for subsistence use were considered separately from lands occupied as villages and camp sites.⁵²

The words of the conference committee report that accompanied the claims act disclose the intent of Congress to reserve the authority "to protect the subsistence needs of the Native." Case writes that the report "makes it clear that Congress viewed neither the purported extinguishment of hunting and fishing rights nor the absence of specific subsistence provisions as the end of Alaska Native subsistence interests."⁵³ The report states:

The Conference Committee after careful consideration believes that all Native interests in subsistence resource land can and will be protected by the Secretary through the exercise of his existing

withdrawal authority. The Secretary could, for example, withdraw appropriate lands and classify them in a manner which would protect Native subsistence needs and requirements by closing appropriate lands to entry by nonresidents when subsistence resources for these lands are in short supply or otherwise threatened. *The Conference Committee expects both the Secretary and the State to take any action necessary to protect the subsistence needs of the Native.*⁵⁴

To some Natives knowledgeable of the land claims process, according to Langdon, these words carry the weight of "an implicit contract between Alaskan Natives and Congress to protect subsistence rights and deal with them more fully in future legislation. ... This is taken to mean that Congressional intent was *to reserve Alaskan Natives subsistence rights and transfer the responsibility for the protection of those rights to the State.*"⁵⁵

State and federal governments did little to provide protection for subsistence after the passage of ANCSA, and in recognition of the need for further protection, the Alaska Native leadership sought additional measures in ANILCA and in state subsistence legislation.⁵⁶ They were encouraged by former Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall, who advised AFN in 1978 that adequate protection would only be achieved if "Congress uses its power under the U.S. Constitution and grants such rights to the Alaska Natives."⁵⁷ Although the state had developed a policy and, by 1978, enacted a law providing a preference for subsistence use on state lands, the Alaska governor also supported Congressional action to establish a priority for subsistence use on federal lands.

Title 8 of ANILCA — Subsistence Management and Use — provided that all rural Alaskans, Native and non-Native, would have a priority for the subsistence use of fish and wildlife and all other renewable resources on public lands. In its findings (Section 801), Congress recognized the significance of subsistence uses to both Natives and non-Natives, declaring that continued subsistence opportunities are "essential to Native physical, economic, traditional and cultural existence and to non-Native physical, economic, traditional and social existence." The distinction between Native and non-Native claims is explained further in subsection (4), which refers to the unfinished purposes of ANCSA and the fiduciary or trust responsibility of the United States to protect the subsistence rights of Alaska Natives:

in order to fulfill the policies and purposes of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and as a

matter of equity, it is necessary for the Congress to invoke its constitutional authority over Native affairs and its constitutional authority under the property clause and the commerce clause to protect and provide the opportunity for continued subsistence uses on the public lands by Native and non-Native rural residents.

ANILCA fulfills the intention of Congress in ANCSA that was expressed in the conference committee report with regard to the protection of subsistence rights. Earlier versions of the bill provided explicit management authority to the federal government including setting seasons and bag limits, but this provision was later removed at the insistence of Senator Stevens, who argued that the Statehood Act granted to the state control of fish and wildlife management (as was common with other states), and that to do otherwise at this point would reinstate federal management of the state's resources, a battle that had been won with statehood.⁵⁸

Another area of continuity between ANCSA and ANILCA is the matter of the federal "trust" responsibility to Native Americans, the source of which is the commerce clause referred to in ANILCA (cited above). As Langdon points out, "Only Native Americans have such a relationship with the United States government therefore this section is interpreted as confirmation of the federal government's responsibility to protect rural Alaskan Natives' rights to subsistence."⁵⁹ He makes the point that the fiduciary or trust basis for Native rights in Alaska is also supported by Section 2(c) of ANCSA, which declares that:

no provision of this Act shall replace or diminish any right, privilege or obligation of Natives as citizens of the United States or of Alaska, or relieve, replace or diminish any obligation of the United States or of the State of Alaska to protect and promote the rights or welfare of Natives as citizens of the United States or Alaska.

He concludes, "The fiduciary responsibility for Alaska Native welfare in general is supported by ANCSA and for rural subsistence in particular by ANILCA." The federal responsibility to ensure the adequate protection of rural Native subsistence uses is ongoing, notwithstanding the declaration of extinguishment in ANCSA.

The ANILCA subsistence provisions have had a substantial influence on the administrative procedures of federal agencies. For the Forest Service, this is particularly true with regard to the Section 810 requirement for the protection of habitat necessary for subsistence,

which mandates the evaluation of all agency activities for their effect on subsistence. These issues will be discussed more fully below in the context of Forest Service administrative policies and practices.

Unresolved Problems: Land Selections

Almost all of the land selected by the southeast Native corporations was from within the Tongass National Forest. While seven villages corporations selected lands in proximity to the villages pursuant to ANCSA provisions, five community corporations and Sealaska were involved in land exchanges that resulted from ANCSA amendments or special legislation. Kootznوو, Inc., and Goldbelt were allowed to select additional acreage above their standard allocation in other areas of the forest in exchange for relinquishing their selections on Admiralty Island after it was declared a National Monument by President Carter (Shee Atika stayed on Admiralty Island but moved from its original selection). Klukwan, Inc. exchanged their reservation land for other lands within the Tongass National Forest after a 1976 amendment to ANCSA. The Haida Land Exchange Act of 1986 permitted the Haida Corporation to exchange some of their lands, much of which had low potential for economic returns, for more valuable lands with marketable timber and additional cash compensation. The latter action resulted in a reduction of their land entitlement by about 5,000 acres. Further exchanges are possible as new circumstances and proposals arise; and on the other hand the Forest Service may propose to buy back some of the Native corporation lands (Knapp study). ANCSA (and later ANILCA) permitted land exchanges with Native corporations when the public interest might be best served. ANCSA was amended in 1976 to eliminate some of the limitations placed on Regional Native Corporation entitlements on National Forests.

There were also exchanges and new selections made in the Chugach region. As previously discussed, the land available for selection in the vicinity of the Chugach villages was largely mountain top and glacier, and not comparable in economic value to lands generally available to Native villages. Consequently, the regional corporation asked Congress for authority to increase its selections from within the National Forest. In 1982, an agreement between the Chugach Natives, the State, the Department of Interior, and the Forest Service established new procedures which provided for additional selections within the forest. From the beginning, State and Native land selections affected long-term timber sales, boundary definitions, and overall management of the Alaska National Forests.

Unresolved Problems: Other Issues

There are numerous issues relating to the operation of the corporations, such as taxation, profit-sharing, mergers, boundary questions, and other concerns, that gave rise to amendments to the settlement act. As the year 1991 approached, there was apprehension in the Native community over the scheduled termination of a ban against the sale of stock in Native corporations to non-Natives. ANCSA provided such prohibition for 20 years, after which stock would be available for sale at the discretion of the shareholder. The Native community feared for the loss of their settlement land and assets through stock alienation, and asked Congress for amendments extending the ban. The so-called "1991 amendments," the ANCSA Amendments of 1987, extended such prohibitions indefinitely until a majority of shareholders voted in favor of permitting such sales.

Other issues addressed in the 1991 amendments included the concern for those Natives born after December 18, 1971, who were not eligible for enrollment to Native corporations or to receive benefits under the act. Provisions were made to allow corporations, at their discretion, to issue additional shares of stock to certain classes of people including younger Native persons, which included numerous optional rights and limitations on the stock. The 20-year exemption on taxation of undeveloped Native lands from property taxes was made permanent rather than ending in 1991. An ANILCA provision regarding settlement trusts was made automatic: timber lands placed in a settlement trust will remain free of taxation for as long as they are undeveloped, and they will be taxed only while they are actively being harvested, returning to undeveloped non-taxable status at the termination of harvest activity.

Section 17 of ANCSA: Comprehensive Planning and New Federal Withdrawals

In addition to authorizing Alaska Natives to select 44 million acres of land, ANCSA included a provision for the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw from appropriation up to 80 million acres for possible additions to the four federal land management systems: National Forests, National Parks, National Wildlife Refuges and Wild and Scenic Rivers. The Secretary had nine months in which to withdraw the lands, two years to make recommendations to Congress, and up to five years to maintain such withdrawals until Congress could act on the recommendation. Congressional inaction at the end of this termination period impelled the Secretary to maintain the withdrawals in the national interest until December 2, 1980, when the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA)

was eventually passed by Congress. Prior to passage of ANILCA President Jimmy Carter used the authority of the Antiquities Act to designate portions of the Tongass as National Monuments, thus precluding state and Native selections from these lands.

As discussed in later chapters, these “d-2” withdrawals also reduced the land base from which timber harvests and mineral exploration might be allowed. The withdrawals also precipitated a major effort within land management agencies to study and make recommendations for additions and new units in their respective systems. This provision was of major significance to the State, since land selections under the Statehood Act were precluded from areas so withdrawn. Selections by regional Native corporations were also prohibited in these areas, although village selections were not affected. Under the federal systems, the development of natural resources on the withdrawals would be prohibited or restricted to some degree, which created conflicts in areas that would otherwise have been chosen by State or Native interests. The State unsuccessfully brought suit to protest the action. ANILCA was passed before its appeals were completed. However, the State’s selection period was extended by ten years in ANILCA.

Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission

ANCSA established a new and comprehensive planning regime to review and recommend Alaska land management proposals to the President and Governor. Section 17 created the Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission and directed each agency to furnish the Commission with any information it needed to carry out its mandate.

The Commission was empowered to conduct a public process of land-use planning and making recommendations in a number of areas including land areas to be reserved for federal ownership in parks, refuges, etc., uses of lands to remain in federal and state ownership, lands to be selected by the State and Native corporations, existing federal withdrawals, and federal and state land management programs and budgets. Citizen participation was mandated through an advisory committee comprised of representatives of different land user groups. The Commission was to advise and assist in the development and review of land use plans for lands selected by Native corporations and the State, as well as to make recommendations to ensure that economic growth and development “is orderly, planned and compatible with State and national environmental objectives, the public interest in the public lands, parks, forests, and wildlife refuges in Alaska, and the eco-

nomic and social well-being of the Native people and other residents of Alaska.” It was also charged with recommending ways to avoid conflict between the State and Native people in the selection of public lands.

The Forest Service established the Alaska Planning Team to fulfill its responsibilities under this section and to develop its own review and recommendations for new National Forest proposals. In the 1970s Region 10 planned “New National Forests for Alaska,” and much more. Timber sales, once negligible, became central to the work of the Forest Service in Alaska because of unique long-term timber contracts negotiated in the 1950s. Work on State and Native land selections and conveyances became more demanding as time passed. The Forest Service wrestled with a veritable deluge of new federal environmental and forest management legislation enacted in the decades of the Sixties and Seventies. And if these demands were not enough, the National Forests began to adjust to the economic growth and development of Alaska, and to the changing uses by the public of forest resources.

Reference Notes

¹ David T. Kresge, Thomas A. Morehouse and George W. Rogers, *Issues in Alaska Development*, University of Alaska-Anchorage, Institute of Social and Economic Development, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977, pp. 22-35

² See Ernest S. Gruening, *The Battle for Alaska Statehood*, College: The University of Alaska Press, 1967, and *The State of Alaska*, New York: Random House, 1968

³ Claus-M. Naske, *A History of Alaska Statehood*, Lanham: University Press of America, 1985 (1973), pp. 102-103

⁴ Ernest S. Gruening, *The Battle for Alaska Statehood*, College: The University of Alaska Press, 1967, p. 2; Claus-M. Naske, *A History of Alaska Statehood*, Lanham: University Press of America, 1985 (1973), pp. 103-115

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *The Constitution of the State of Alaska, as amended 1970*, p.25-26

⁷ David T. Kresge, Thomas A. Morehouse and George W. Rogers, *Issues in Alaska Development*, University of Alaska-Anchorage, Institute of Social and Economic Development, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977, pp. 48

⁸ "Providing for the Admission of the State of Alaska into the Union," Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 85th, 1st, Report No. 624 (to accompany H.R. 7999), June 25, 1957, p.23

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19

¹⁰ Subsequent litigation has provided the following clarification of this issue: "The purpose of land grants under the Alaska Statehood Act is to serve Alaska's overall economic and social well-being. Some of the lands so selected will probably be used to protect mineral deposits. Others will safeguard wildlife. Still others will be used to protect domestic water supplies. *Udall v. Kalerak*, 396 F.2d 746 (9th Cir.1968) ... This section authorized the state to select 102,500 acres from public lands that were "vacant, unappropriated, and unreserved at the time of their selection." The intent of Congress was, of course, to provide the new state with a solid economic foundation. *United States v. Atlantic Richfield Co.*, 435 F. Supp. 1009 (D. Alas. 1977). Alaska Statutes, Alaska Statehood Act, Notes to Decisions, Juneau: Department of Law, 1983, p. 87.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.21. The 52.5% figure was later raised to 90% of proceeds on minerals from public lands.

¹² Section 6(a) of the Alaska Statehood Act. The Act provided for up to 400,000 acres from the National Forests. In later practice this came to be viewed as an entitlement of 400,000 acres.

¹³ ANILCA also allowed the state a 25 percent

overselection of its remaining entitlement for the same reason, and to replace withdrawn lands that were filed on by the state (such as military bases or the Trans Alaska Pipeline Corridor) in the event the state is unable to obtain them.

¹⁴ *State Land Selections from Tongass and Chugach National Forests*, Anchorage: Alaska Department of Natural Resources, June, 1989, p. 2

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3

¹⁶ Alaska Statehood Act, Notes to Decisions, in *Alaska Statutes*, p. 77

¹⁷ Claus-M. Naske, *A History of Alaska Statehood*, Lanham: University Press of America, 1985 (1973), p.107

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 143

¹⁹ Victor Fischer, *Alaska's Constitutional Convention*, National Municipal League State Constitutional Convention Studies Number Nine, Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1975, pp. 137-39

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Thomas R. Berger, *Village Journey*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1985, p. 20

²² House report accompanying the final version of ANCSA, quoted in Berger, p. 21

²³ see Steve J. Langdon, "Contradictions in Alaskan Native Economy and Society" in *Contemporary Alaskan Native Economies*, ed. by Steve J. Langdon, Lanham: University Press of America, 1986

²⁴ The concerns of residents of the area are being investigated, as we write (1994), by the federal government: the burial of nuclear wastes in underground dumps, and the use of Inupiat in experiments to disclose the effects of exposure to nuclear radiation, have been recently acknowledged by the government and are the subject of ongoing investigations.

²⁵ Robert D. Arnold, *Alaska Native Land Claims*, Anchorage: The Alaska Native Foundation, 1978, p. 119. A report prepared for Congress, *Alaska Natives and the Land*, stated similar findings based on information provided by DOI as of June, 1968: "Alaska Native groups and associations have claimed and filed protests to the transfer of almost the entire state. The claims and protests are based on aboriginal use of the lands." See pp. 454-514 for a discussion by region of the status of land ownership and control, as well as the petitions, claims and protests made by Alaska Natives.

²⁶ Robert D. Arnold, *Alaska Native Land Claims*, Anchorage: The Alaska Native Foundation, 1978, p.118

²⁷ A statewide corporation was also suggested.

²⁸ Robert D. Arnold, *Alaska Native Land Claims*, Anchorage: The Alaska Native Foundation, 1978, p. 129

²⁹ For a critical review of ANCSA and its implementa-

tion, and of the failed expectations of its "promise" for social and economic equity, see Thomas R. Berger, *Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1984

³⁰ See Gunnar Knapp, *Native Timber Harvests in Southeast Alaska*, USDA Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Research Station, General Technical Report PNW-GTR-284, 1992, p.5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5

³² Esther C. Wunnicke, Robert D. Arnold, David M. Hickok, Douglas N. Jones and Arlon R. Tussing, *Alaska Natives and the Land*, a report on Alaska Native land claims by the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, Anchorage, Alaska, 1968, p. 530

³³ Cumulative real dividends per shareholder ranged from zero (Koniag) to nearly \$10,500 (CIRI). Real net corporate income received per shareholder varied from \$44,000 for CIRI to a negative \$7,000 for Calista and Bering Straits. The other corporations had income received that ranged from negative \$2,000 to \$12,000 per shareholder. The regional corporations as a group suffered net losses in seven out of 17 years. Only four corporations produced positive cumulative net income on business ventures from 1974-90. See Steve Colt, "Financial Performance of Native Regional Corporations," *Review of Social and Economic Conditions*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, Anchorage: University of Alaska, Institute of Social and Economic Research, December, 1991. There has been very little research into this topic. For a general treatment, see Thomas R. Berger, *Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1984. For an examination of benefits received by shareholders in village corporations in southeast Alaska, see the chapter by Steve Colt in *A Study of Five Southeast Alaska Communities*, Appendix A: History of Occupation and Use, Report prepared for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and U.S.D.O.I. Bureaus of Land Management and Indian Affairs by Institute of Social and Economic Research University of Alaska (Lee Gorsuch and Steve Colt), Charles W. Smythe and Bart K. Garber, 1994

³⁴ Alaska Native Roll, Bureau of Indian Affairs, total as of 12/31/85.

³⁵ See in *A Study of Five Southeast Alaska Communities*, Institute for Social and Economic Research (Lee Gorsuch and Steve Colt), by Charles W. Smythe and Bart K. Garber, Chapter 2, pp. 17-19 (1994); and personal communication, Bart K. Garber to Charles W. Smythe, 1993.

³⁶ Source: U.S.D.O.I Bureau of Indian Affairs, Alaska Native Roll, Dec. 31, 1985. The actual number of shareholders is larger today, as some stock has been transferred through inheritance and other means.

³⁷ *A Study of Five Southeast Alaska Communities*,

Report prepared for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and U.S.D.O.I. Bureaus of Land Management and Indian Affairs by Institute of Social and Economic Research University of Alaska (Lee Gorsuch and Steve Colt), Charles W. Smythe and Bart K. Garber, Anchorage: University of Alaska, 1994, p.92, from statistics provided by the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Region 10, as of July 19, 1991.

³⁸ ANILCA Section 506(a)(3-6) provided additional land to Kootznووoo.

³⁹ The Haida Exchange Act (1986) authorized the Haida Corp. to relinquish village corporation land to the United States in return for money and alternative lands, which resulted in the conveyance of about 5,000 acres to the government (some of which was added to the Tongass National Forest).

⁴⁰ Goldbelt and Shee Atika were initially entitled to 23,040 acres, but subsequent negotiations and land trades resulted in additional lands in exchange for relinquishing claims to Admiralty Island.

⁴¹ See Note 5.

⁴² This figure includes shareholders enrolled to other villages and towns in southeast Alaska and at-large shareholders, in addition to village and urban corporation shareholders.

⁴³ Gunnar Knapp, *Native Timber Harvests in Southeast Alaska*, U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Research Station, General Technical Report PNW-GTR-284, 1992

⁴⁴ *A Study of Five Southeast Alaska Communities*, Report prepared for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and U.S.D.O.I. Bureaus of Land Management and Indian Affairs by Institute of Social and Economic Research University of Alaska (Lee Gorsuch and Steve Colt), Charles W. Smythe and Bart K. Garber, Anchorage: University of Alaska, 1994

⁴⁵ Leo Keeler, Chugach National Forest, Personal Communication, February 8, 1994

⁴⁶ Source: U.S.D.O.I Bureau of Indian Affairs, Alaska Native Roll, Dec. 31, 1985. The actual number of shareholders is larger today, as some stock has been transferred through inheritance and other means.

⁴⁷ *A Study of Five Southeast Alaska Communities*, Report prepared for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and U.S.D.O.I. Bureaus of Land Management and Indian Affairs by Institute of Social and Economic Research University of Alaska (Lee Gorsuch and Steve Colt), Charles W. Smythe and Bart K. Garber, Anchorage: University of Alaska, 1994, p.92, from statistics provided by the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Region 10, as of July 19, 1991.

⁴⁸ This figure includes shareholders enrolled to other villages and towns in the Chugach region and at-large shareholders, in addition to village corporation shareholders.

⁴⁹ Robert D. Arnold, *Alaska Native Land Claims*, Anchorage: The Alaska Native Foundation, 1978, p. 246

⁵⁰ ANCSA, Section 4(b)

⁵¹ David S. Case, *Alaska Natives and American Laws*, Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1984, p. 294

⁵² *Alaska Natives and the Land*, p. 539-40

⁵³ David S. Case, *Alaska Natives and American Laws*, Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1984, p. 295

⁵⁴ Senate Report 92-581, 92nd Cong.; 1st Sess., December 14, 1971, p. 37; cited in *Ibid.* p. 295: emphasis added

⁵⁵ Steve J. Langdon, "Alaska Native Subsistence: Current Regulatory Regimes and Issues, Paper prepared for the Alaska Native Review Commission Roundtable on Subsistence, Anchorage: Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 1984, pp. 11-12

⁵⁶ The state constitution, which prescribes the development and common use of all natural resources including fish and wildlife, did not ultimately afford an assurance of protection of Native or rural subsistence. In 1978 the State passed a subsistence law giving priority to subsistence users over all other fish and game uses. The State of Alaska's adherence to its constitution conflicts with ANILCA provisions, and this led to the Federal federal government asserting control over fish and wildlife resources on federal lands; this issue is currently under litigation.

⁵⁷ David S. Case, *Alaska Natives and American Laws*, Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1984, p. 297

⁵⁸ *Katie John, Doris Charles, and Mentasta Village Council, and The State of Alaska v. The United States of America*, Case no. A90-484 Civ, State's Motion for Partial Summary Judgement

⁵⁹ Steve J. Langdon, "Alaska Native Subsistence: Current Regulatory Regimes and Issues, Paper prepared for the Alaska Native Review Commission Roundtable on Subsistence, Anchorage: Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 1984, p. 12

Chapter IV

Alaska Forest Management: A Legislative Watershed

Statehood, ANCSA, and ANILCA created a unique legislative and political environment for National Forest management in the Alaska Region. Even more distinctive, and in many ways of greater influence, were long-term (50-year) timber contracts peculiar to the Alaska National Forests. The two decades between 1950 and 1970 comprise a watershed in Alaska forest management. Prior to 1950, there was no State of Alaska, no Native claims settlements, no long-term timber contracts, no designated wilderness—and very little timber harvest on the Alaska National Forests. The Forest Reserve Act of June 4, 1897; the proclamations establishing first, the Alexander Archipelago Forest Reserve in 1902 and the Tongass National Forest on September 10, 1907 (which were consolidated in 1908); the Chugach Forest Reserve Act on July 23, 1907; and Gifford Pinchot's *Use Book*, provided the major policy directives for the management of Alaska National Forests as late as 1950.

Beginning with the Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act of 1960, over the next decade Congress markedly altered National Forest management policies. But the legislation began to impact markedly on the Region only in the decade of the Seventies. Change came then. And it came with great intensity and purpose, and some pain. Change came at the broader economic and political levels, and at the lower personnel and personal levels. The Alaska Region was more susceptible to change, and more vulnerable to change, in part because there had been in its past, so little change.

Until the decade of the Seventies, compared to other Regions of the Forest Service, Alaska was understaffed. The work was largely custodial, inventory, and boundary-related. There were relatively few professional staffers, and those few were foresters or engineers. There were few biologists, wildlife scientists, anthropologists, hydrologists, geologists, landscape architects, recreational specialists or ecologists. In 1950, roads and telephones were few, helicopters and television non-existent. Transportation and communications were then, and remain today, defining elements of the Alaska experience. Distances are great and locations remote and difficult to access. People then were much more isolated than they are today. Families lived under difficult circumstances and often experienced stress—so did single males. Alcoholism was a problem. Change came slowly, but cumulatively. By the 1970s the Region was awash in a sea of change.

Alaska Forest Management Practices Before 1959

When Arthur Graves, Chief, USDA Forest Service, visited Alaska in 1915, he found on both the Tongass and the Chugach National Forests old-growth, virgin timber dominated by stands of western hemlock and Sitka spruce, containing scatterings of western red cedar and Alaska-cedar. He also saw white spruce, mountain hemlock, red alder, black cottonwood and lodgepole pine. "Muskegs" or bog plant communities of sedge grass, rushes and ericaceous shrubs created prairie-type openings among the forests. The more rugged mountainous terrain of the coastal Chugach National Forest offered vistas of timberlines which quickly yielded to alpine zones of heather, grasses and arctic vegetation, and those in turn to permanent glacier and snow fields. Almost one-third of the Chugach is ice-covered. Graves saw bald eagles, Sitka black-tailed deer, brown and black bears, and abundant waterfowl and shore birds. Seals, whales, porpoises and otters were visible along the coasts. Salmon fisheries dominated the commercial life of Southeast Alaska. The heady days of the gold rush were over. Most Native and non-Native residents throughout Alaska subsisted by gathering the fish, wildlife and fuels of the forests. Anchorage was then an unincorporated community and Alaska had not yet received regular territorial status. Alaska was then truly the nation's "last frontier." But Graves saw the potential for timber production, hydro-electric power, and even then the possibility for development of a pulp industry.¹

The use of Alaska forest resources and forest management practices changed little during the forty-five years or so following the 1915 visit of Chief Graves. Lawrence Rakestraw, in his *History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska* characterized the era between 1919 and 1937 as a time of Forest Service involvement in the politics of forestry and of conservation. It was a time of "quiet growth" both for the forests and the Forest Service.

Timber and the Transition to the Modern Economy

Commercial timber production, previously very limited in Alaska because of the great distances to national markets and the relatively sparse populations within the state, experienced an awakening in the 1920s. As late as 1913, Alaska imported 84% of its lumber. By 1923, a mill at Ketchikan was exporting lumber to Seattle for transshipment to the East, the United Kingdom and

Australia. By 1925, Alaska's net timber imports fell to about 16% of consumption. The lumber "boomlet" soon collapsed, however, with the onset of the depression in 1929.²

During the New Deal years, the National Forests in Alaska received unsolicited attention from two of Franklin Roosevelt's cabinet members, Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior; and Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture. Each wanted the National Forests under their domain.³

After considerable political struggle at levels far away from the forests of Alaska, Wallace won and the Service continued to reside in the Department of Agriculture. All National Forest Districts became "regions" in 1930, and the district foresters became regional foresters. In 1931, field divisions replaced ranger districts on the National Forests in Alaska. The divisions included the Southern, headquartered at Ketchikan; Petersburg (Petersburg); Admiralty (Juneau); Kenai (Anchorage); Prince William Sound (Cordova); and later, a Kenai division with headquarters at Seward. The Alaska Region, originally Region 8, became Region 10 in 1934. The CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) program introduced nationally in 1933, brought otherwise unemployed young men to work in the Alaska forests. Work was varied and included road building, the construction of bridges and structures, development of recreation areas, burning railroad rights-of-way and, of course, fire protection. CCC projects included restoration and preservation of Tlingit and Haida totem poles on the Tongass. Rakestraw suggested that timber sales "flourished" during the era, but in truth the stirrings of commercial logging activities of the 1920s virtually ceased with the stock market crash of 1929. Plans for constructing pulping facilities also collapsed.⁴ World War II stimulated a temporary and modest revival in timber harvesting.

World War II: The Alaska Spruce Log Program

In the 1940s, timber and defense replaced fishing and mining as the leading edge of economic development for the next several decades. During World War II, the War Department, in cooperation with the Forest Service, created an independent agency, the Alaska Spruce Log Program to provide high quality spruce timber for war plane production. Regional Forester B. Frank Heintzleman headed Alaska operations. Charles G. Burdick managed operations from a headquarters set up at Edna Bay on Kosciusko Island. Nine logging crews in different camps began almost feverish work. In March 1943, the first ocean-going log raft from the Alaskan forests, called a Davis raft, reached Anacortes,

Washington. The raft held about 850,000 board feet of spruce and 50,000 board feet of western hemlock. By mid-1944 operations began closing down as metal replaced spruce in aircraft. When the program closed in October 1944, 38.5 million board feet of high-grade spruce had been shipped out with another 46 million board feet of hemlock and spruce going to local mills.⁵ Post-war demobilization, which included the reduction of military forces in southcentral and southeastern Alaska, left in its wake a severe post-war recession.

Fishing, mining, and timber production slumped with post-war demobilization. Immediately after the war troops were withdrawn and military bases closed or downsized. Alaska, with a more cyclical, seasonal, and extractive economy, felt the post-war dislocations more so than the lower 48 states. B. Frank Heintzleman, who joined the Region 10 staff in 1918, and became Regional Forester in 1937, revived the search for a pulp industry as a mechanism to provide relief to the peoples of the Tongass.

Long-Term Pulp Contracts

The Forest Service, in fact, had a long-standing interest in encouraging pulp production from the Alaskan forests. A pulp operation could keep people employed year round, both in the mill and in the forests. Fishing, on the other hand, usually brought people in from the outside for a relatively short season. Temporary fisheries employees left Alaska with pay checks in their pockets, and industry profits went to corporations domiciled outside of Alaska.

Another consideration supporting the search for a pulp operation was that the aging stands of Western hemlock were best suited to pulp production. The Forest Service thought so as early as 1913, when it first offered acreage on the Tongass for a pulp sale. The sale collapsed when the applicant failed to obtain adequate financing for mill construction. The Forest Service tried again in 1917, with a similar fate. Forest Service Chief William B. Greeley took a deep personal interest in the development of a pulp program in Alaska. The Service identified fourteen potential pulp cutting sites on the Tongass and toured prospective industrialists around to view them. There were few takers. One pulp mill did begin operation at Speel River about 30 miles south of Juneau in 1922, but closed the following year.⁶

Fully committed to the development of the Tongass and to encourage the industrial use of forest resources as an aid to community settlement and economic stability, in 1926 the Forest Service adopted a "Statement of

Priorities" for the Tongass. The Forest Service pledged itself to develop policies and practices that would contribute in the largest way to the welfare of the most people. Specifically, Forest managers promised to work for the development of "a timber and paper manufacturing industry in Alaska" which would utilize as much timber as possible while supporting a sustained yield within the forests. The statement also mentioned that the Forest Service must protect the "fundamental purposes" for which the forests were established, although those purposes were not spelled out in the statement. Congress established the National Forest Reserves in 1891 in order to preserve the timber resources of the country and to protect the industries and people dependent upon those resources. The "Statement of Priorities" adopted by the Alaska Region seemed to be consistent with the organic legislation. The policy statement generally reflected the Forest Service's national objectives of providing the best use for the greatest number—consistent with conservation of forest resources and sustained timber yields.⁷

The advent of the depression in 1929 made the Forest Service's objective to establish a pulp operation on the Tongass even more urgent. Within a short time of the market crash on Wall Street, fishing, lumber production, and mining operations closed or were drastically curtailed in Alaska. Few jobs existed anywhere in Alaska. Commercial timber production, even in the best years of the 1920s, was very limited. Small-scale fur farming and subsistence helped families survive the Depression.⁸ World War II disrupted the search for a pulp industry, but created jobs in the forests under the spruce log program.

After the war a post-war slump stimulated new efforts to create a less cyclical and broader employment base for southeast Alaska. Under the influences variously of necessity, Heintzleman, and emerging statehood proponents, Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington (State), and Territorial Delegate E.L. Bartlett from Haines, helped push the Tongass Timber Act of 1947 through Congress. The act allowed for long-term timber sales on the Tongass, and enabled the Forest Service to enter into long-term contracts with pulp mill developers.⁹ This enabling legislation led to negotiation of the first long-term timber contract.

In 1948 the Forest Service made a preliminary award to Ketchikan Pulp Company for a mill to be established at Wacker City (near Ketchikan in the Tongass National Forest), and on July 26, 1951, approved a final fifty-year, 1.5 billion board feet contract for pulp operations.¹⁰ The Forest Service agreed to assure the pulp contrac-

tors an opportunity to purchase supplies of timber within the parameters of sustained yield management. Pulp mills also agreed to employ Alaska residents in the mills whenever possible.¹¹ The long-term pulp contracts in Alaska were a first for the Forest Service, and received widespread support as a major economic boost for southeast Alaska in relieving critical unemployment.

Arthur W. Greeley, Regional Forester from 1953 to 1956, explained that things were markedly different in Alaska in the 1950s. When he arrived in 1953:

...the Alaska pack of salmon was way down, salmon and all other fish; mining was off; tourism had not yet begun to blossom as something big; the Alaska Steamship Company, which had provided the "Main Street" of Alaska, stopped their regular passenger runs to Alaska (which seemed unthinkable to Alaskans of those days); oil had not been brought beyond the "dream" stage; the main source of income to the Territory was military construction in the Interior, which would be big for another year, then taper off; and the whole economy of Alaska looked very dull indeed. What the Forest Service was doing to bring in a pulp industry in Alaska was the only activity taking place in the entire Territory which gave promise of adding permanent jobs and strengthening the economic base of Alaska.¹²

Following the election of President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the cessation of hostilities in Korea, the federal government became increasingly interested in promoting the economic stability and recovery of Japan as an additional mechanism to promote stability and security in Asia. Japan's critical shortage of timber slowed its post-war reconstruction.

In 1952 Japanese government officials and State of Alaska representatives, with private Japanese and American timber industries, examined the possibilities of utilizing Alaska timber products in Japan. This was followed by discussions with representatives of the U.S. Department of State, Department of Defense, and Department of Agriculture. With the blessings of the administration, in September 1953 the Japanese-owned Alaska Lumber and Pulp Company (later Alaska Pulp Company) entered into a contract with the Alaska Forest Service awarding the company rights to 5.25 billion board feet of timber located on Baronof and Chichagof Islands. The Japanese-owned company began operations at its pulp mill at Silver Bay near Sitka in 1959. The intent was to provide jobs and income for Alaskans in the Sitka area, while relieving critical

lumber and paper shortages in the Japanese market. Frank Heintzleman's appointment as territorial governor on April 10, 1953, reflected in part the widespread support for the long-term pulp contracts. Heintzleman, of course, had been instrumental in their creation. He served in the governor's office until January 3, 1957. Over the next few decades Alaska's timber industry became primarily dependent "on export markets in Japan, and, to a lesser extent, other Pacific Rim countries."¹³ This was the beginning of a growing interaction between Japan and Alaska.

In February 1970, Region 10's *Sourdough Notes*, an employee news and information letter begun by Regional Forester B. Frank Heintzleman in 1948, observed that Japanese firms were "pouring billions of yen" into Alaska. Japanese combines sought to participate in the exploration and development of Alaska's newly discovered North Slope oil fields. Other Japanese-funded companies drilled in southern Alaska. Ninety percent of Alaska's exports between 1965 and 1970 went to Japan. Japanese tourists began coming to Alaska in increasing numbers. The Japanese government opened its first consulate in Alaska in January 1970. Emperor Hirohito, an amateur botanist-biologist visited Anchorage briefly in 1971, and met with Dr. Leslie Viereck, director of the Forestry Sciences Laboratory, and with forester John Raynor from the Chugach National Forest.¹⁴

The long-term timber contracts helped solve employment problems, complemented the interests of Alaska statehood supporters (who wanted to create domestic industries), and established a precedent and infrastructure for international trade in Alaska timber products. They helped tie Alaska, and indeed the United States, more closely to Japan's economy. They began the process which resulted in most of Alaska's timber products being marketed in Japan after 1970— particularly products such as round logs from private and native corporation lands. The international implications of Alaska timber production casts a distinctive influence on Alaska forest management, employment, and timber harvests. The long-term pulp contracts have been integral in linking Alaska to a global economy. Interestingly, the establishment of the long-term timber contracts also was linked to Statehood, and to the welfare of Native peoples in the Tongass.

The pulp contracts coincided with the commercial objectives of local statehood advocates who espoused community settlement and the development of Alaska's resources for the benefit of its permanent residents. The contracts also helped overcome objections by

Republican members of Congress to Alaska Statehood. Many Republicans, according to Alaska Governor Walter J. Hickel, then a member of the Republican National Committee (1954-64), opposed statehood on the basis that "Alaskans could not afford it."¹⁵ The development of the pulp industry had strong support from Governor Heintzleman and Senator Gruening. Both regarded the pulp enterprise as a mechanism for creating stable employment on a year-round basis in a region generally dominated by the salmon industry which only provided seasonal opportunities filled largely by non-residents who left the territory (or state) after the close of the season.¹⁶ Natives were also expected to benefit from the long-term timber contracts.

In the 1950s the salmon fisheries seemed close to collapse. This particularly affected the livelihood of Alaska's native peoples who depended on fishing both commercially and for subsistence. Development of the pulp industry was expected to particularly benefit the Indians of southeast Alaska, whose principal economic activity —commercial seine fishing — was significantly affected by the decline in fish stocks in the 1940s, and the subsequent crash in the 1950s. The future economic well-being of the Native population was associated with expected employment opportunities in the new pulp timber industry developing in Ketchikan and Sitka. While the development of the pulp industry in Ketchikan did prompt a substantial migration of Tlingit and Haida Indians from Prince of Wales communities into that city, the principal economic benefits accruing to the Indians resulted from employment in construction and other positions associated with the development of the Ketchikan community, rather than through direct long-term employment in the pulp industry itself as originally put forward by proponents.¹⁷

A third long-term contract, with Pacific Northern Timber in 1957, anticipated the construction of a pulp mill near Wrangell. It collapsed because of a recession and financial problems.¹⁸ The Forest Service anticipated the award of yet two additional long-term pulp contracts.

In 1965, the Forest Service entered into an agreement with Georgia-Pacific Corporation for pulp harvests on Admiralty Island. Georgia-Pacific's St. Regis Paper was the high bidder on an 8.74 billion board foot timber sale, but failed to qualify for the final award and forfeited the contract. Region 10 then awarded the timber sale to the second highest bidder, U.S. Plywood-Champion International. Champion's Alaska Division president, Gerald A. Jackson, announced at a December 1965 press conference in Juneau's Baranof Hotel the company's intent to build a pulp-sawmill complex in

nearby Echo Cove on Berner's Bay. "The hotel's Gold Room was jammed with federal, state, and local officials and plain citizens anxious to hear the company's decision." It was, Jackson suggested, a "great moment" for Alaska. "Cheers and applause greeted the announcement."¹⁹

The jubilation was shortlived. A "Juneau Group of the Sierra Club was organized to oppose" the Admiralty timber sale, and "a bitter fight [began] over the future of Admiralty Island that pitted preservationists, sportsmen, and Native residents of Admiralty against the Forest Service." It was, recalled Michael M. Perensovich, who joined the staff as Region 10's first wildlife biologist, "a turning point in Forest Service relations."²⁰

The two active long-term pulp contracts did provide a degree of economic stability in the Tongass region for several decades, but in time evoked criticism from diverse sectors including environmentalists and the timber industries. The export value of forest products increased ten-fold in ten years—from \$4.3 to \$43.6 million. Timber harvests on the Tongass rose from about 55 to 342 million board feet annually.²¹ Competitors argued that the Forest Service sold timber to the pulp mills far below market prices. Environmentalists complained that the contracts subsidized clear-cutting in the National Forests. Wildlife specialists within and without the Forest Service believed that the cutting damaged the habitat for bear, eagles and salmon and other wildlife in the Tongass.

The Sierra Club and the Southeast Alaska-based Sitka Conservation Society filed an injunction in February 1970 to halt the 8.75 billion board feet sale to U.S. Plywood-Champion, a sale conditioned upon the construction of the pulp mill 35 miles north of Juneau. The petitioners argued that the Forest Service failed to obtain fair market value, offered the sale without competition, and violated the Multiple Use Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the Wilderness Act.²²

Regional Forester W. Howard Johnson defended sale procedures. He noted the close participation of the Washington office in the sale, and described the stringent requirements in the contract for the protection of fish and wildlife. The contract, he said, "would stimulate an increase in southeastern Alaska gross production of over \$40 million."²³

That contract failed to become operative because of the "war of attrition in the courts." More and more challenges to the long-term timber contracts characterized the "conflict" management that seemed to dominate the

following quarter-century between 1970 and 1995. John A. Sandor, who replaced Charles A. Yates as Regional Forester in 1976, said, by that time "organized interest groups had formed in opposition to timber harvesting generally, and in opposition to the long-term timber sales specifically."²⁴

Indeed, the difficulties of administering the long-term timber contracts began to compound in the 1980s under increasing environmental concerns, abetted by market changes as pulp demand began declining due to world-wide competition and new technology. For most of the quarter-century between 1970 and 1995, the long-term timber contracts remained a "driving force" in Alaska forest management in the sense that the Forest Service struggled to maintain the timber supplies for which it had contracted. On the other hand, the long-term contracts became a lightning rod for conflict and litigation that was also characteristic of this period.

From 1953 through 1970 three regional foresters—William B. Greeley (1953-1956), Percy D. Hanson (1956-1963), and W. Howard Johnson (1963-1970) headed the Alaska Regional office. Because of the contracts, and new federal legislation, the Region began its conversion from extensive to intensive management. Between 1952 and 1956 timber sales increased over three-fold and soon tripled again. Japan and the Pacific Rim became key markets for Alaska timber products. With Statehood and the developing environmental movement, national attention began to focus on Alaska. More people traveled to Alaska to fish, hunt, and just see it. Pressures grew for new trails and highways, expanded sports hunting and fishing opportunities, and more recreational activities. A new public entity, the State of Alaska, began to interact more and more with the Forest Service. The Alaska Region, for the first time really, began to face the challenge of reconciling consumptive and non-consumptive uses of National Forest resources.²⁵

The Administrative Organization

Before 1970 the Alaska Region had experienced little conflict relating to the use of National Forest resources. Compared to the extensive resources available, uses were minimal. The Region had only "skeletal" staffing. Under the pressure of population increases and expanded commercial uses, in 1956 the Forest Service upgraded regional staffing to normal regional levels. Normal staffing for a region of the USDA Forest Service meant a regional office, supervisor's offices for each National Forest, and Ranger Districts for each National Forest or division of a National Forest. Because of its

size and geographic dispersion, the Tongass National Forest was sub-divided into two administrative units in 1956, each headed by a Supervisor. Clare M. Armstrong supervised the North Tongass from offices in Juneau, while C. M. Archbold directed the South Tongass from Ketchikan. Malcolm E. Hardy moved up from the Petersburg Ranger District to supervise the Chugach National Forest from headquarters in Anchorage. The North Tongass was further divided into the Juneau and Sitka *working circles*, while the South Tongass comprised the Petersburg and Ketchikan *working circles*. Working circles related to timber management in a defined area. Working circles required periodic *management plans* defining logging and silviculture operations (timber types and volumes, allowable cuts, etc.), accompanied by *working plans* specifying improvements, planting and fire protection practices. The two ranger districts on the Chugach National Forest functioned as working circles.²⁶

Administratively, the USDA Forest Service functioned as a decentralized bureau of the Federal government. Although some describe decentralization of a Federal bureau as a weakness, through its long history this type of organization generally has served the Forest Service well. It meant, most often, a greater affiliation and identity of the Forest Service with state and local people and interests, and less overt intrusion of federal authority into local affairs. Under the influence of new legislation approved by Congress in 1960 and after, decentralization waned and the traditional affiliation of the Forest Service with regional and local interests diminished as well. The Forest Service in the Alaska Region struggled with the dilemma of attempting to preserve its local identity and good will, while becoming the agent of policies and interests often antithetical to those within the region.

The line of authority for the conduct of affairs on the National Forests runs from the Chief (through the Associate Chief in charge of the National Forest System) to the Regional Forester, then to the Forest Supervisor and finally to the District Ranger. In addition, staff personnel assigned variously at the national, regional, forest, and ranger district level, coordinate those functions at each level. Timber management, for instance, has staff personnel in the Chief's office, the Regional Office, and the Forest Supervisor's office, while the Ranger (or when assigned to the District, a Timber staff officer) is most often the coordinating specialist for timber affairs at the Ranger District level. In fact, the Ranger usually implements policies regarding timber, wildlife, fishing, fire protection, or whatever, as passed down from the Chief's office, the Regional

office, or the Forest Supervisor's office. Historically, the Regional Forester exercised considerable independence. The Regional Forester was to be everywhere and handle everything, particularly functional affairs such as planning and budgeting. Instructions and direction from Washington (especially having to do with operations), were negligible. The Washington office monitored the Region or Forest through General Functional Inspections conducted at prescribed times. In turn, the Regional Forester usually delegated line (operations) responsibilities to the Forest Supervisor, who in turn relied on the District Ranger to manage the Ranger District, and complete all work projects, including timber harvests.

The traditional laissez-faire practices, and relative autonomy of the forest supervisor and the ranger began to disappear in the 1950s. Coordination and integration of activities and planning became a prerequisite. Regional planning now complimented traditional district planning. During a General Integrating Inspection (GII) in 1956, inspectors Clare Hendee and L. S. Gross observed that no comprehensive administrative planning existed in the Alaska Region. In the future, they advised, such plans must be developed.²⁷ And they were. Ranger districts particularly felt the brunt of new management duties as timber harvests, conservation, and recreation uses became greater. Once largely autonomous, the District Rangers and their staff were more closely integrated into the Regional scheme of things, and the Region, in turn with a national program. Planning documents for timber, wildlife, recreation, fisheries, and conservation were required of Ranger Districts.

For example, in 1960 ranger districts produced timber management five year action plans. Some of these were dated as follows:

Sample Timber Management Plans, 1960

<u>National Forest</u>	<u>Ranger District</u>	<u>Date of Plan</u>	<u>Approved</u>	<u>Source</u>
South Tongass	Craig	01-20-60	01-29-60	GII, 1960
South Tongass	Ketchikan	01-29-60	02-05-60	GII, 1960
South Tongass	Kasaan	01-21-60	02-05-60	GII, 1960

Although not a central activity of the Alaska Region, planning historically had been a component of timber management and sales, and to a greater or lesser degree a basic element in the administration of the Region. Timber management planning activities in particular established a precedent and expertise for the more intensive study and planning procedures required by the new forest-related legislation of the 1960s.²⁸

New Legislation and New National Forest Management

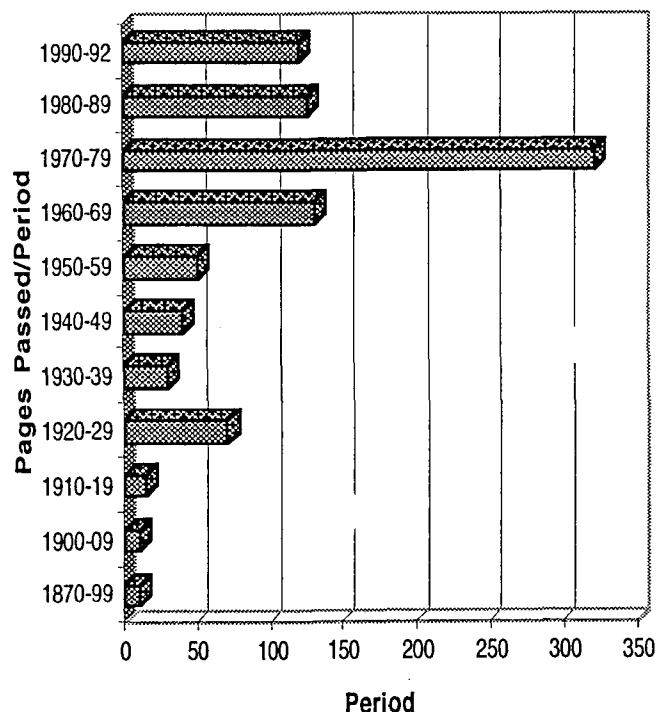
In 1959 the Alaska Region entered a new era. "Strange terrain," lay ahead, "where the bearings are confusing, the topography rough, and lay of the land hard to determine," Lawrence Rakestraw observed. Alaska statehood in 1959, and the Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act of 1960, illustrate the rising new social and economic forces that would begin to reshape forest resource management in Alaska. The emerging environmental revolution collided with the rising and competitive commercial interests synonymous with Alaska statehood. Beginning with the Statehood Act, the list of legislative mandates affecting forest management in Alaska grew prodigiously in the next two decades:

Federal Legislation Affecting Alaska Forest Management, 1959-1990

- 1959 The Statehood Act of 1959**
(P.L. 85-508)
- 1960 Multiple-Use Sustained-Yield Act**
(Act of June 12, 1960: P.L. 86517, 74 Stat. 215; 16 U.S.C. 528(note), 528-531)
- 1964 Wilderness Act**
(Act of September 3, 1964: P.L. 88-577, 78 Stat. 90; 16 U.S.C. 1121(note), 1131-1136)
- 1965 Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965**
(Act of September 3, 1964 (P.L. 88-578, 78 Stat. 897; 16 U.S.C. 460(note), 4601-4—4601-6, 4601-6a, 4601-7—4601-11; 23 U.S.C.
- 1969 National Environmental Policy Act**
(Act of January 1, 1970: P.L. 91-190, 88 Stat. 852; 42 U.S.C. 4321(note), 4321, 4331-4335, 4341-4347)
- 1970 Mining and Minerals Policy Act**
(Act of December 31, 1970: P.L. 91-631, 84 Stat. 1876, 30 U.S.C. 21a)
- 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act**
(P.L. 92-203, 85 Stat. 688)
- 1973 Endangered Species Act**
(Act of December 28, 1973: P.L. 93-205, 87 Stat. 884, as amended; 16 U.S.C. 1531-1536, 1538-1540)
- 1974 Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act** (Act of August 17, 1974: P.L. 93-378, 88 Stat. 476, amended; 16 U.S.C. 1601(note), 1600-1614)
- 1974 Sikes Act**
(Act of October 18, 1974: P.L. 93-452, 88 Stat. 1369, 16 U.S.C. 670g, 670h, 670o)

- 1976 Federal Land Policy and Management Act**
(Act of October 21, 1976: P.L. 94-579, 90 Stat. 2473, as amended; 43 U.S.C. 1701(note), 1701, 1702, 1712, 1714-1717, 1719, 1732b, 1740, 1744, 1745, 1751-1753, 1761, 1763-1771, 1781, 1782; 7 U.S.C. 1212a; 16 U.S.C. 478a, 1338a)
- 1976 National Forest Management Act**
(Act of October 22, 1976: P.L. 94-588, 90 Stat. 2949, as amended; 16 U.S.C. 472a, 476, 500, 513-516, 518, 521b, 528(note), 576b, 594-2(note), 1600(note), 1601(note), 1600-1602, 1604, 1606, 1608-1609)
- 1980 Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act**
(Act of December 2, 1980: P.L. 96-487, 94 Stat. 2371; 16 U.S.C. 3210)
- 1990 Tongass Timber Reform Act**
(Act of November 28, 1990: P.L. 101-626, 104 Stat. 4426; 16 U.S.C.)

Table IV.1



In addition, on December 1, 1978, by proclamation President Carter, designated 56 million acres of Alaska public lands as National Monuments. Two of these monuments were part of the Tongass National Forest, and directly affected management practices.

The challenges of planning and management created by the new legislation were formidable. Even by 1962, with the legislative pipeline just opening, the Alaska Region found itself understaffed and ill-prepared to carry out the manifold actions being mandated. A General Integrating Inspection conducted in 1962 clearly defined the problem in its first recommendation:

... In view of greatly increased demands for the use of the natural resources, passage of the Alaska Statehood Act, and other evolutionary changes affecting the role of the Forest Service in Alaska, there is need for more aggressive leadership, primarily on the part of the Washington Office in developing common understanding with the region and nation with respect to definitive long-range objectives, overall goals, and broad program direction with respect to National Forest, State and Private Forestry and Research programs.²⁹

In good measure the problems had to do with successfully communicating and selling national interests to a state and local crowd. Traditionally, the Forest Service tended to represent local interests on the national level. The design and formation of long-term timber contracts is a case in point. But that function as a champion of local interests declined rapidly after 1959, as the State became the spokesman for Alaska interests.

Alaska Statehood Act of 1959

At the time of statehood 99 percent of the 365.5 million acres of Alaska was federally owned, primarily administered by the Department of the Interior. The area to be allocated to the State was vast—some 103 million acres including as much as 400,000 acres from the National Forests. The Alaska Region began reviewing “selection lands” almost immediately upon approval of the Statehood Act. While interested in facilitating the transfer of federal forest lands to state authority, the Forest Service also sought to preserve the basic integrity of the National Forests, to protect the interests of the people within and users of National Forest resources, and, above all, to preserve the National Forest—a preeminent charge under the Organic Act of 1897. As early as 1961 the South Tongass National Forest had reviewed areas which were regarded as logical for state selection.³⁰ But would the state select lands on the basis of Forest Service definitions of “logical?”

In their 1962 GII inspection of the Alaska Region, Swingler and McKennan discussed the lands selection process. They found that the Region fully expected that all the 400,000 acres of National Forest land allowed by the Statehood Act would be selected. However, they believed that only about 100,000 acres would actually qualify as suitable for community development or recreation under the guidelines approved for selecting lands.³¹

State selections proved to be a slow and perhaps painful process, both for the state, and the Forest Service. State criteria, that is the “logic” for state land selections by the mid-1970s generally reflected: 1) the usefulness for settlement, community development, and recreation, 2) the control of lands for transport corridors, and 3) the selection of lands with high potential for natural resource development. The Forest Service, for its part, sought to protect the integrity of the forest and its resources. The Alaska Department of Natural Resources provided oversight for the selection process, but since the department and state government did not exist before 1959, selection proceeded very slowly at first.³²

Substantive conveyances of land to the State occurred only after 1970. In 1977, and again in 1982, the Department of Natural Resources attempted to close on state selections within the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. The state selected 250,000 acres, almost one-half of that from the Chugach National Forest from lands adjoining the growing metropolitan area of Anchorage (now Chugach State Park), and along the Valdez-Cordova coastal area, plus lands in the Tongass on Prince of Wales Island adjoining Hydaburg, Craig, and the northern tip of Kupreanof Island, and coastal areas near Petersburg. The Forest Service disapproved a number of the 1977 selections, and litigation on almost 50,000 acres was not settled until 1988. The Forest Service generally approved the second selection of 57,000 acres made in 1982. But as late as 1989, 161,000 acres remained open for state selection. Those selections required final settlement by January 3, 1994.³³ Thus, simply in terms of land selection Alaska statehood exacted a considerable physical toll on Alaska National Forest land, and on Forest Service energies devoted to the selection process. The business of forest management clearly took a new direction in 1959. Statehood marked only the beginning.

Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act of 1960

The Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act of 1960, “confirmed long-standing Forest Service policy to administer

the National Forests for outdoor recreation, range, timber, watershed, wildlife and fish purposes. It stressed that consideration be given to relative values of resources in particular areas."³⁴ Forest Service inspectors concluded in July 1962, following MUSY, that the Alaska Region was in a state of transition from custodial management and the promotion of commercial timber production and sales to a state of intensive management of all the resources:

... Until a few years ago management of Region 10 National Forests had been almost entirely on a custodial basis. Timber and recreation use was largely by local folks ... Conditions have changed drastically in the last decade, however. Major timber harvesting operations are under way. Tourism has increased tremendously. Heavy use of airplanes is resulting in dispersal of fishermen, hunters, and other outdoor recreation seekers throughout the National Forest areas. Enactment of the Statehood Act is resulting in impacts and problems of major significance. Along with these and other developments has come greatly expanded public interest in and concern about all of the natural resources.³⁵

Inspectors Mason Bruce and Richard Wilke identified the need, under MUSY, for the "practical but farsighted multiple-use management plans." Timber sales particularly required careful multiple use coordination. District rangers began work on their plans in 1961.³⁶ But, while multiple-use legislation may have confirmed long-standing Forest Service policy, in practice the Forest Service had not established criteria or evaluations for implementing multiple-use.

In February, 1962, forest supervisors in Region 10 met to discuss the question "Where do we go from here under the multiple use concept." Eleven panels discussed such matters as the meeting of resource management objectives, key factors influencing future management, and future objectives in several resource areas. Inspectors Swinger and McKennan, who participated in the meeting, expressed the opinion that more help and leadership was needed from the Washington Office.³⁷

While rangers worked on *Ranger District Multiple Use Plans*, Region staffers developed what would be the *Multiple Use Management Guide*, completed in 1964. The South Tongass Ranger Districts completed the initial drafts and plans in record time:

<u>National Forest</u>	<u>Ranger District</u>	<u>Draft Date</u>	<u>Final Date</u>	<u>Source</u>
North Tongass	Chatham	1960	1961	GII
South Tongass	Craig	1961	1962	GFI*
South Tongass	Ketchikan	1961	1961	GFI*
South Tongass	Kasaan	1961	1962	GFI*

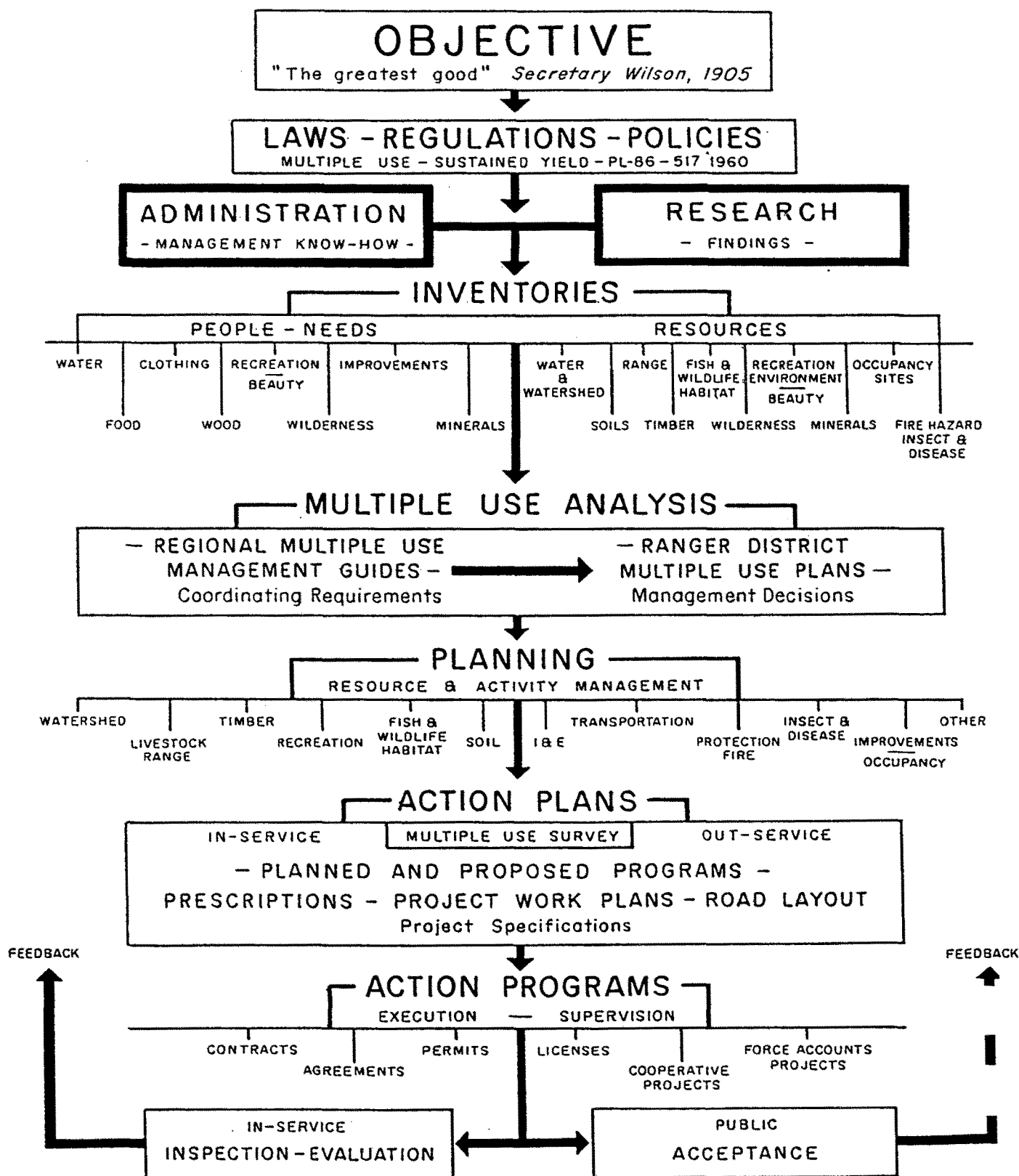
[*General Functional Inspection]

Preliminary multiple use plans were completed on all R10 Ranger Districts during Fiscal Year 1963. The district multiple use plans "defined areas that were to be used to produce a particular combination of goods and services." Area zoning and on-the-ground applications were, perhaps appropriately, developed at the lowest administrative level of the Forest. The district plans became master guides for functional management, served as training aids, and helped insure a continuity in management practices through changes in administrative personnel.

Inspectors Swinger and McLennan, during the February MUSY review, counseled the Region to particularly focus on multiple use coordination in timber harvesting operations where logging impacted heavily on soil, water and other resources. At the Forest level, multiple-use plans helped establish land-use capabilities and demonstrated the interrelationship of forest resources to the state of Alaska. The Forest plans made "broad allocative decisions" and provided general management guidance and direction.³⁸ The written guidelines and directives also made the Forest Service more answerable, if not responsive, to litigation by public interest groups.

MUSY, for example, was used as the basis of the lawsuit by the Sierra Club and the Sitka Conservation Society against the contract with U.S. Plywood-Champion in 1970. District Court judge Raymond E. Plummer, Jr., found in favor of the Forest Service. The decision was appealed and in 1973 the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals remanded the suit to the U.S. District Court in Anchorage. The Appellate Court apparently based much of its decision on a report by Professor Aldo Starker Leopold of the University of California.³⁹ The I&E Office of the Region analyzed the appeal and produced a flow chart of possible routes, with the possibility of Judge Plummer scheduling a retrial of the entire case (called maximum impact) or a trial limited to the supplemental evidence (called impact unknown).⁴⁰ Thus, the managerial impact of MUSY was to require the production of multiple-use plans, and it imposed long-term responsibilities in monitoring and implementing established policies and procedures—all increasingly under media and legal surveillance. In theory and in practice multiple-use planning resulted in more

TABLE IV.2
NATIONAL FOREST
MULTIPLE USE AND SUSTAINED YIELD MANAGEMENT



intelligent, efficient and equitable allocation of forest resources.

In 1970 the Region revised the multiple use management zones used in the multiple use management plans. Seven zones were employed: General Forest, Intermediate, High Country, Glacier and Ice Fields, Estuarine, Water Influence and Travel Influence. Timber production was precluded in the high country zone, and timber harvest was allowed only to preserve aesthetic and scenic values in the glaciers and ice fields zones.⁴¹ Multiple-use plans necessarily integrated new legislation affecting National Forest management. The Wilderness Act, for example, created a defined use for forest resources that previously existed only by de facto practices.

The Wilderness Act of 1964

The Act, signed September 3, 1964, and amended January 3, 1975, declared it to be the policy of Congress to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefit of an enduring resource of wilderness.⁴² The Act defined wilderness as an area "where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man," and where the imprint of the human visitor does not remain or is substantially unnoticeable. The Alaska Region was slow to develop plans for wilderness, perhaps in part because of the perception that so much of the National Forest **was** wilderness. The first formal wilderness allocation in Alaska began in 1969, when Regional Forester W. Howard Johnson announced Alaska's first wilderness study. It involved 530,000 acres on the Chugach National Forest. Preparations were underway to begin wilderness studies on the Tongass National Forest.⁴³

Under the mandate of the Wilderness Act the Forest Service began studies of all roadless areas of more than 5,000 acres for possible wilderness designation. Alaska's first Roadless Area Review and Evaluation (RARE I), for instance, recommended the 704,000 acre Nellie Juan New Study Area on the Chugach National Forest for wilderness evaluation in 1973. The Chugach National Forest multiple use plan in 1974 also recognized scenic values on the Harriman Fjord and on the Columbia Glacier area.⁴⁴

The follow-up to RARE I, the RARE II process for selecting roadless areas possibly suited for wilderness status, required greater analyses and public participation. The Forest Service sought public input, either on an individual basis or at workshops held in Alaska communities. The Region actively sought individual participation in the process.

At the time the *Southeast Alaska Area Guide* was issued in April 1977, six wilderness study areas totaling 1.9 million acres had been established on the Tongass National Forest. Eventually, by 1979, RARE II in Alaska identified over 6 million acres recommended for wilderness, another nearly 3 million acres to be studied further, and 7.5 million acres selected as non-wilderness but to be designated as roadless recreation area. The findings were presented in the "Alaska State Supplement" to the series of RARE II documents published by the Forest Service. The Forest Service held open houses at all of its offices throughout the Alaska Region, distributed 2,500 copies each of the RARE II draft environmental impact statement and the "Tongass Land Management Plan Draft Environment Statement," and invited public input.⁴⁵

Washington, D.C. also participated in the review process. The Carter administration subsequently altered the wilderness proposals in the RARE II Final Environmental Statement filed January 4, 1979, by the Secretary of Agriculture, as discussed later in the chapter. Nevertheless, no wilderness areas were formally designated in Alaska until passage of ANILCA in 1980. The reality, of course, was that "nearly 97 percent of the land in Southcentral Alaska is roadless and much of it possessed wilderness qualities."⁴⁶ Another act, approved by Congress in 1964, also directly affected forest management in Region 10.

The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, 1964

The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act "preserves and develops and assures accessibility to quality and quantity of outdoor recreation resources as may be available and are necessary and desirable for individual active participation in such recreation and to strengthen the health and vitality of the citizens of the United States."⁴⁷ The act helped create a stronger focus by the Region on outdoor recreation and provided funding for recreational development.

The National Environmental Policy Act, 1969 NEPA signed by President Richard Nixon on January 1, 1970 established as a national policy the "encouragement of productive and enjoyable harmony between man and the environment." It provided a "continuing policy for the Federal Government to cooperate with State and local governments and other concerned public agencies to promote the general welfare and to achieve a balance between population and resource use which will permit high standards of living and wide sharing of life amenities." This Act required a systematic and interdisciplinary approach to planning and making decisions, institutionalized both planning and assessment of

environmental concerns in National Forest management, analysis of alternatives and disclosure of relevant information to the public. "NEPA sounded innocuous at first..." but "...it turned out to have sharp teeth."⁴⁸

The effect of NEPA on the conduct of business on the National Forests of Alaska developed slowly in the 1970s. Environmental impact statements became a basic component of most of Regional management decisions. As true with the Multiple Use Sustained Yield Act, NEPA established a base and criteria for public surveillance of forest management. Management decisions could be and often were challenged through administrative appeals to forest plans and by litigation in federal district court. The gist of the matter is that NEPA, according to S. T. Dana and S. K. Fairfax, in *Forest and Range Policy*, was not suited to the traditional decentralized management system of the Forest Service. Forest Service policies and procedures tended to reflect local interests and responses. Local decisions, in turn, often failed to reflect regional or national intent.⁴⁹ NEPA, perhaps more so than other recent legislation, recast the role and the public perception of the Forest Service as a more truly federal agency.

By September 1976, Region 10 had in progress several environmental impact statements, including one on the Hidden Falls and Sandy Bay Fish Hatcheries on Baranof Island, the Yakutat Land Management Plan (land management direction), the Seal Creek Timber Sale, and the Tongass Land Management Plan for the Chatham Area of the forest.⁵⁰ Environmental impact statements involved extensive (and expensive) multidisciplinary research and review, public input, revision, and final decisions. Forest management became more cumbersome and more subject to external review and revision. But NEPA also reaffirmed the traditional conservation-preservation philosophy of the USDA Forest Service. Environmental and ecological considerations moderated multiple-use, sustained-yield management. While multiple use, wilderness, and environmental legislation applied to the Forest Service and other federal agencies and lands throughout the United States, the Alaska Statehood Act, and in 1971, ANCSA, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, established a management environment unique to the Alaska Region. Land claims, selections, litigation, and amending legislation (including ANILCA) tended to dominate the business of the Alaska Region for most of the following quarter-century.

Mining and Minerals Policy Act, 1970

This act put the Bureau of Land Management in charge

of mineral, oil, gas, coal, oil shale and uranium activity on federal lands. Whenever the Forest Service wished to deal with minerals it had to put the paperwork through the BLM, thus imposing a new tier of bureaucracy in the management processes.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, 1971

Although it has been previously discussed, largely in the context of Native claims, ANCSA's impact upon the Forest Service had to do largely with the privatization of National Forest lands and the reduction of the available commercial timber base for the long-term contracts. There were continuing uncertainties regarding the availability of National Forest resources for timber or any other use. Over a period of years, hearings and discussions related to House and Senate bills set the stage for final approval of ANCSA by the 91st Congress.⁵¹

The Forest Service generally attempted to put the best face on its impending loss of lands. Hearings were held in Fairbanks, Alaska, on October 17, 1969, and in Anchorage on the 18th. The Senate conducted hearings on August 7 and 8, 1969, in Washington, D. C.⁵² Associate Chief Arthur W. Greeley, formerly a Regional Forester of the Alaska Region, testified at the Senate hearing in support of the bill, saying "We strongly support efforts to bring about a timely and equitable settlement of the claims of the Alaska Native peoples." He stated that about a half million acres of national forest would be at stake as the bills were being prepared because they contained language to assign land around the native villages, whose occupants, he claimed, had more dependence on resources of the sea rather than from the inland resources. He further stated that subsistence rights for inland resources of the Tongass National Forest were already available.⁵³

Greeley also testified at the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs hearing on September 9, 1969. Committee members expressed concern about his testimony, accusing him of leaving the impression that the Forest Service did not want to give up any land under the act.⁵⁴ The Forest Service did seek to minimize land conveyances.

The USDA estimated that between 275,000 and 300,000 acres of national forest would be claimed by the residents of native villages from National Forest lands. Foresters estimated that the taking would involve over 4 billion board feet of marketable timber including about 90,000 acres of commercial timberlands

having old-growth saw timber, of which about 190 million board feet was then under sale contracts.⁵⁵

Congress passed the legislation and President Nixon approved ANCSA on December 18, 1971. As previously discussed, ANCSA granted the native peoples of Alaska, including Aleut, Eskimo, Athapaskan, Tlingit, and Haida groups the right to select 44 million acres of Alaska land. Village corporations were established to select and manage village settlement lands. The legislation created twelve regional corporations to manage selected lands and the subsurface resources of village lands.⁵⁶

Section 17(d)(1) of the act "...authorized the Secretary of the Interior ... to withdraw such public domain lands as he thought advisable to ensure that the public interest in them is properly protected," on a temporary basis, and then under Section 17(d)(2) to withdraw up to 80 million acres of land (called "d-2" lands) to be studied for possible action to the National Park, Forest, Wildlife Refuge and Wild and Scenic Rivers Systems.⁵⁷

In September 1972 the Secretary of the Interior, under provisions of the act, withdrew the "Four Systems" 78.4 million acres of land for federal use. In addition, under another clause of the Act another 44.6 million acres of "General Interest" lands were also withdrawn from the public domain by the Secretary. Study teams from the National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the Forest Service then examined 123 million acres of land for the purpose of proposing land-use allocations, since the Act required all selected lands to be submitted as legislative proposals to the Congress by December 18, 1973. Congress had five years to act on the distributions. Proposed legislation—S. 2917 of the 93rd Congress, 2nd Session—was then drafted to bring about this addition of federal category lands in Alaska. According to the bill, lands to be selected for these proposed federal areas were to have "significant public or national interest," and to contain diverse resources to provide "goods, services, and amenities."⁵⁸ Anticipating the possibility of creating "New National Forests for Alaska," through most of the 1970s the Region devoted enormous energy and effort to a study and justification for the creation of new National Forests.

The Endangered Species Act, 1973

According to the *Southeast Alaska Area Guide* the Endangered Species Act provided a means to "conserve ecosystems upon which endangered wildlife and plant species depend and to provide a program for the conservation of endangered and threatened species."⁵⁹

Initially the act had little effect, but in the late 1970s and during the following decade, the Act became a prime mechanism for conservation groups to block timber harvests on National Forest lands in the lower 48. Noteworthy cases under ESA include the Red Cockaded Woodpecker in the Southern forests, and the more publicized Northern Spotted Owl cases in the Pacific Northwest, where restrictions on timber management were imposed in the name of these endangered species. Alaska foresters tended to be proactive in administering the Endangered Species Act. Wildlife protection is integral to forest management. For example, the Region and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service have studied the Marbled Murrelet, the Goshawk, and the Alexander Archipelago Wolf to see if they might be threatened species.

The Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act, 1974

The Resources Planning Act (RPA) provides an orderly framework for assessing the supply of, and demand for, the Nation's forest and related resources. It also provides for the development of long range plans to assure that the American people enjoy adequate supplies of water, recreation, forage, timber and wildlife from the National Forest System and private forest lands in the decades ahead.⁶⁰ The Act attempted to provide a system for forest management that reflected multiple-use, and environmental protection. Chief Edward P. Cliff described the act at a conference in Denver, Colorado, April 1-2, 1977, as "perhaps the most important single piece of legislation for the Forest Service since the Multiple-Use Sustained-Yield Act, or even, since the Organic Act of 1897, yet it provides no new program authorities for the Forest Service."⁶¹

The Act, he said, included four primary assessments, including "a description of Forest Service programs, their interrelationships, and their relationships to other public and private activities."⁶² Under RPA, the Forest Service was required to plan in much greater detail than ever before. RPA required the development and maintenance of land and resource management plans. It directed an interdisciplinary approach in the planning process, an approach already used under NEPA.⁶³ The interdisciplinary approach is reflected in the planning document entitled *Alternative Goals for Six Resource Systems*, released on March 7, 1975. The Forest Service outlined plans for managing six resource "systems" of the national forests. The six systems included outdoor recreation and wilderness, wildlife habitat, range forage, timber, land and water, and human and community development. Two additional documents prepared primarily for Congress included:

Renewable Resource Assessment, and *Renewable Resource Program*. The Forest Service also provided congressmen a 129-page summary of the documents. The Assessment presented an analysis of the long-run supply and demand for renewable resources while the second publication established a Program for Forest Service management of renewable resources. Final responses to RPA were sent to President Ford on December 31, 1975. The White House, in turn, submitted them to Congress for approval. Congress approved the management plan on March 2, 1976. Five years later the Forest Service submitted another set of two documents—an *Assessment* of 631 pages and a *Program* of 537 pages to Congress. RPA reports continue at five year intervals. The Resource Planning Act, in effect, implements a continuing planning and evaluation process. But the complexity and relative sophistication of the new planning processes contributed further to planning being elevated from the Ranger District, and the Supervisor's Office, to the Regional Office or even to the Washington Office. Under the Sikes Act, National Forest planning and management also became more closely coordinated with state forest management programs.

The Sikes Act, 1974

The Sikes Act provides for the conservation and rehabilitation of wildlife on certain public lands including the National Forests. A provision of the Act called for the cooperative development, with the States, of comprehensive plans for conservation and rehabilitation of wildlife, fish and game.⁶⁴ With statehood, wildlife and game conservation on the National Forests became the primary responsibility of state authorities, while the protection and support of habitat remained a responsibility of the Forest Service. Wildlife management programs did not materialize in any depth from the state until the 1970s, in part because the state governing infrastructure and the state department of Fish and Game were themselves in the formative state. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game, in cooperation with the Forest Service, developed some studies of mammals, birds and fish during the 1970s, but most were produced during the 1980s. The Sikes Act facilitated the cooperation between the Forest Service and the state in matters involving wildlife protection and harvest.

The National Forest Management Act (NFMA), 1976

The National Forest Management Act amends both the Organic Act of 1897, and major sections of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974. Among other things, the provisions of the Act clarify how certain forestry practices will be carried out.

Planning procedures are codified.⁶⁵ According to retired Chief Cliff, the law "extended and strengthened the Resource Planning Act." The major emphases included land management planning, timber management, and public participation in Forest Service decision-making. Cliff believed that both RPA and NFMA were "good laws," enabling the Forest Service to "redeem more effectively its natural resource management responsibilities in the public interest."⁶⁶

NFMA prescribed an elaborate system of planning. Some have called NFMA a full employment act for Forest Service planners. It drastically changed the manner in which operations on national forests were conducted under detailed plans for resource management and use. The act prescribed ten planning "actions:"

1. Identification of issues, concerns, opportunities
2. Development and establishment of planning criteria
3. Collection of data and information
4. Analysis of the management situation
5. Formulation of alternatives
6. Estimation of the effects of the alternatives
7. Evaluation of the alternatives
8. Selection of the preferred alternative
9. Implementation
10. Monitoring and evaluation

The act effectually evoked the scientific method in planning for management of the National Forests.

Following passage of NFMA and its requirement for land planning on each national forest, a new round of planning began on the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. Two documents—a Draft Plan and accompanying Environmental Impact Statement (EIS)—were first prepared, followed by public review and evaluation, with revisions as needed. At that point the Forest Service prepared and issued a Final Plan and EIS. If the plan and EIS went unchallenged in the courts, the proposed action could then be taken. Although the Act helped codify and organize forest management around multiple-use and environmental considerations, it extended the time frame for the inception of a project to its completion, and imposed new staff and work obligations on an already burdened bureaucracy.

The Region launched into its land management planning early and vigorously, producing the Forest Service's first land management plan—the *Tongass Land Management Plan*, followed by the *Chugach National Forest Plan*. Comprehensive, multiple-use

planning became a continuing part of forest management in the decade of the Seventies.

The Federal Land Policy and Management Act, 1976

This act required a periodic and systematic inventory of public lands, the protection of resources for present and future use through land management planning, and coordination among Federal and State agencies. It prescribed the preservation and protection of certain public lands in their natural condition, for food and habitat for fish, for wildlife and domestic animals and for outdoor recreation, human occupancy and use. The law clarified procedures for acquisition, administration and disposition of public lands.

The Act has been referred to as the "Bureau of Land Management Organic Act," but parts of it applied to Forest Service activities in land and resource management. Just as RPA and NFMA (passed the same day as this legislation), the Act stressed land use planning. The primary use of the Act by the Forest Service was to withdraw land from the effect of the General Mining Laws.⁶⁷ By the Act Congress intended to help protect Federal land from settlement, sale, location, or entry, but the Forest Service expanded the concept to include protection for "scenic, historic, scientific and/or primitive attributes ..."⁶⁸ Withdrawal under any guise could be used to protect certain areas of the National Forests from passing out of Forest Service control.

For example, since ANILCA had not yet been passed, in 1980 the Forest Service proposed to protect 11.2 million acres in 25 separate areas, "from mineral entry and state selection," under terms of the Federal Land Policy act.⁶⁹ Region 10 applied for the withdrawal on November 28, 1978, and published its application in the *Federal Register* on December 5, 1978. The entire area was proposed for special classification. Due to the restrictions in the withdrawal procedure, the withdrawal, except for the two National Monuments, would revert to its former condition in two years, or by December 5, 1980, unless acted upon favorably by Congress.⁷⁰

A USDA news bulletin, dated December 19, 1978, announced the withdrawal application, and indicated that valid existing rights would be honored in the withdrawal area, including activities such as "sport hunting, fishing, boating, camping, cabin use, and air access."⁷¹ With both statehood and ANCSA selections from National Forest lands still underway, Congress approved the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act in 1980, expediting native land selections and creating new wilderness areas within the National Forests, thus making the withdrawal moot.

The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, 1980

Although this act was not signed into law until December 2, 1980, earlier versions of the legislation had been submitted and were evaluated as to their probable impact on the Forest Service during the late 1970s. The first serious legislation was H.R. 39, which was passed by the House of Representatives in May, 1978. The bill contained provisions to expedite the conveyance of lands to the State of Alaska and to the Natives. In the Senate, the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources considered legislation to include new amendments to ANCSA made by various groups. S. R. 3016 was introduced by Senators Stevens and Gravel, and the administration sponsored Senate Bill 3303. The committee considered exchanges of lands and selection rights by native corporations. H. R. 39 was reported out in October 1978 and included fourteen land exchanges with eight regional or village corporations. Three of these related to the Chugach Region. The bill contained compromise language to maintain the timber economy in southeast Alaska, but it did not reach the full Senate and the process had to begin again in the 96th Congress.⁷²

The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs asked native corporations to testify at hearings on H.R. 39 in the 96th Congress. Finally, a substitute H.R. 39, authored by Representative Jerry Huckaby of Louisiana, was marked up in March, 1979, and on May 16 sent to the Senate. The Senate version of the bill, the Udall-Anderson compromise, was the one supported by Bob Bergland, Secretary of Agriculture. The Energy and Natural Resources Committee conducted hearings in October 1979. During debates in July and August, 1980, considerable change occurred in the bill. The Senate, on August 19, 1980, adopted another substitute to H.R. 39. The bill was accepted by the House of Representatives on November 12, 1980, and signed by President Carter on December 2, 1980.⁷³

ANILCA prescribed extensive wilderness on the National Forests of Alaska, some of which the Forest Service had never identified as potential wilderness areas. In a memorandum to staff directors and forest supervisors, Regional Forester Sandor noted that areas selected in the bill were different than those proposed in the Tongass Land Management Plan. This, he wrote, would necessitate "evaluating the differences" and working closely with the Chief's Office. Although there is much more to the story of the ANILCA legislation, the Act was at least in part the product of collaborative efforts between Alaska Native groups and state and national environmental interests. ANILCA, with Statehood, ANCSA, and the environmental and management

legislation of the earlier years, set the tone and style of Alaska Forest management.

In 1978, faced with the prospect that ANILCA might fail to pass Congress, by executive actions President Jimmy Carter proclaimed two National Monuments within the boundaries of the Tongass National Forest, Admiralty Island (1,100,000 acres) and Misty Fiords (2,285,000 acres), which were to be administered by the Forest Service. The authority was Section 2 of the Antiquities Act of 1906 (36 Stat. 225; 16 U.S.C. 431) and Proclamations No. 4611 and 4623, published in the Federal Register, December 5, 1978 (43 FR 57009 - 57132). These areas contained, respectively, a "superlative combination of scientific and historical objects and values," and "unspoiled coastal ecosystem containing extraordinary geologic features of scientific importance, including fiords, steep sea cliffs, active glaciers, and natural canals." Uses permitted on the monuments included occupancy for commercial services, recreational activities, management of fish and wildlife habitat, subsistence use, resources inventory, and mining on established claims.⁷⁴ The actions removed the 3.4 million acres from the Tongass' available timber base and created more constraints on forest management.

The two monuments were officially codified in ANILCA, as Regional Forester Sandor surmised they would be, writing "this ... will guide uses and activities within the Monuments until such time as Congressional action and long-range management plans are completed."⁷⁵

Tongass Timber Reform Act, 1990

The Tongass Timber Reform Act, approved by President George Bush in November 1990, attempted to resolve land use problems on the Tongass. The Act established six new wilderness areas on the Tongass totalling 296,080 acres. It also created a new category of land protection called "Land Use Designation II" (LUD II). The Congressionally designated LUD IIs are not to be confused with the LUD IIs created under TLMP; these latter were administratively designated by the Forest Service. In some cases the boundaries of the Congressionally designated TTRA LUD IIs follow preexisting TLMP II boundaries; in other cases, however, Congress drew wholly new boundaries for the LUD IIs they created. On 722,482 acres of LUD II, for example, most uses other than timber harvests are allowed and roads are prohibited. The Act also modified the long-term timber sale contracts with Alaska Pulp Company and Ketchikan Pulp Company, and eliminated the \$40 million annual appropriation approved by ANILCA to help the Forest Service meet the

4.5 billion board feet per decade harvest level. And the Act changed the harvest specifications to simply direct the Forest Service to seek to meet "market demand."⁷⁶

The New Management Environment

As the legislative climate under which the Forest Service labored changed, the Alaska Region had to adapt as each piece of legislation appeared. Much of what was being done had to be undone and redone as new statutes and new interpretations of statutes arose. This presented a formidable challenge to the managers of the National Forests.

On July 6, 1976, just before passage of the National Forest Management Act of 1976, during testimony before a Senate committee, John Sandor listed the following acts as those which provided "national direction for management of National Forest lands." He included the Creative Act of 1891, the Organic Administrative Act of 1897, the Transfer Act of 1905, the Weeks Act of 1911, the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937, the Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act of 1960, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (RPA), and the Sikes Act. Had they been in existence, he most certainly would have added the National Forest Management Act and ANILCA. He gave the most credit for a "significant and influential factor in both the planning and future administration of the National Forests" to the RPA. He described the new planning as both "land management planning and program planning." He outlined the tiered planning system, including national direction, area planning, forest planning, unit planning, and resource planning.⁷⁷

Then, on August 18, 1976, Sandor presented a prepared statement at a Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee oversight hearing held at Juneau, Alaska. It was in all aspects a status report by the chief administrative officer of the Forest Service in Alaska. He stated that the Forest Service had responded to significant changes which were coming about because of NEPA, Alaska statehood, and ANCSA. He listed several concerns including recovery of the salmon fisheries, the difficulty in predicting timber demands in Alaska, minerals demand, the probable upward trend in recreation demand, and the need to increase the transportation system. He stated that the Forest Service was responding to needs, issues, and challenges. He then summarized the state of fish and wildlife habitat management and timber management. He discussed miscellaneous affairs, including the Youth Conservation Corps, forest research, state and private forestry, the

land management planning process, funding for the Alaska Region, and the impact of Alaska state and Native land claims on the administration of the National Forests.⁷⁸

The implementation of the long-term timber contracts; Statehood, with its relevant land selections and growing presence; ANCSA and its sequential ANILCA and the Tongass Timber Reform Act; and the multiple-use, environmental and management legislation after 1960, massively altered National Forest management in Alaska. Moreover, all of these legislatively mandated changes occurred within the context of a rapidly changing Alaskan economy of which the National Forests were an integral part.

Thus, by 1970 the Alaska Region had weathered two tumultuous decades best described as a legislative watershed for the USDA Forest Service. Those storms, however, generally raged outside of the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. By 1970 the storm clouds were clearly gathered overhead. What lay ahead for the Alaska Region was a time Alaska foresters might euphemistically characterize as a time of the great *taku* winds—sudden, fierce, gales that permanently changed the boundaries and the practices of forestry on the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. While the resources, and indeed much of the territory within Alaska National Forest boundaries were essentially the same as those viewed by Chief Forester Arthur Graves in 1915, the management environment changed markedly. Forest management was being redirected toward the management of non-timber resources.

Management decisions were being transferred from the local and Ranger District level, to the Forest, Regional, and even National level. And the work force of the Forest Service became much more diverse, which provided forest managers a much larger tool kit for identifying and solving problems. The Alaska Forest Service reorganization in the 1970s, characterized as the “RMA” or Resource Management Period was in direct response to the new challenges imposed by the long-term timber contracts, Statehood, and Federal legislation. The changing uses and character of the National Forests in Alaska reflected in part the changing socio-economic order of both Alaska and the nation.

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⁵⁷ Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, Letter to Mr. Speaker [House of Representatives], Washington, DC, December 17, 1973, pp. 565-592 in USDI, Alaska Planning Group, *Yukon-Kuskokwim National Forest*, Final Environmental Statement, n. p., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975, x + 673 p., illus., maps.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ USDA Forest Service, Alaska Region, *Southeast Alaska Area Guide*, 1977, p. 11.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Edward P. Cliff, Retired Chief, "Public Land Law Review Commission Revisited: Timber Resources," in *Public Land Law Review Commission Revisited*, [Proceedings], Conference Sponsored by the Denver Law Journal and the University of Denver College of Law, Denver, Colorado, April 1-2, 1977, pagination by article, 32 p. + 2 p notes, p. 14.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶³ "Overview of the Forest Service Planning Process for Managing National Forest System Lands," n. p., n. d., 30 p., p. 12, Region 10 files.

⁶⁴ USDA Forest Service, Alaska Region, *Southeast Alaska Area Guide*, 1977, p. 12.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Cliff, "Public Land Law Review Commission Revisited: Timber Resources," p. 14-15, 28.

⁶⁷ John A. Carver, Jr., "Federal Land Policy & Management Act of 1976: Fruition or Frustration," in *Public Land Law Review Commission Revisited*, [Proceedings], Conference Sponsored by the Denver Law Journal and the University of Denver College of Law, Denver, Colorado, April 1-2, 1977, pagination by article, 42 p., p. 1-3.

⁶⁸ USDA Forest Service, Alaska Region, *Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Withdrawal Request Under FLPMA Section 204(c) for National Forest Lands in Alaska*, Part A, Foreword.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Part A, Foreword.

⁷¹ Thomas C. Nelson, Deputy Chief, Memorandum to John R. McGuire, Chief, Washington, DC, re Withdraw-

als in Alaska, Management Policy, Washington, DC, May 17, 1979, pp. 71-72 in USDA Forest Service, Alaska Region, *Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Withdrawal Request Under FLPMA Section 204(c) for National Lands in Alaska, August 29, 1980*, [Juneau, AK], 1980, 84 p. + appendixes.

⁷² "95th Congress Ends With Unresolved Alaska Issues," Sourdough Notes, No. 354, December 1978: 5, Region 10 files.

⁷³ "U.S. House Committee Releases Alaska Lands Bill," Sourdough Notes, No. 360, July 1979: 5; "Secretary Bergland Supports Udall-Anderson," Sourdough Notes, No. 360, July 1979: 5; "Background Analysis and Legislative History of Sections 1429 and 1430 of Public Law 96-487, The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act," n. p., n. d., 14 p. + appendixes.

⁷⁴ J. Rupert Cutler, "Federal Register NOTICES, Department of Agriculture, Forest Service," [Washington, DC], June 24, 1979, 4 p., Federal Records Center-Seattle, 095-850164.

⁷⁵ Rai Behnert, compiler, "Planning on the Tongass and Chugach National Forests," [Juneau, AK], Updated February 1992, 15 p., p. 1., Region 10 files.; John A. Sandor, Regional Forester, Letter to Cliff Lobaugh, Juneau, AK, June 29, 1979, 1 p., Federal Records Center-Seattle, 095-850164.

⁷⁶ Alaska Region News, November 28, 1990.

⁷⁷ Statement given by John A. Sandor, Regional Forester, Alaska Region, USDA Forest Service at Senator Gravel's Southeast Alaska Hearings on July 7, 1976, n. p., n. d., 13 p., Region 10 files.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

PLATE V ALASKA AND THE ARCTIC

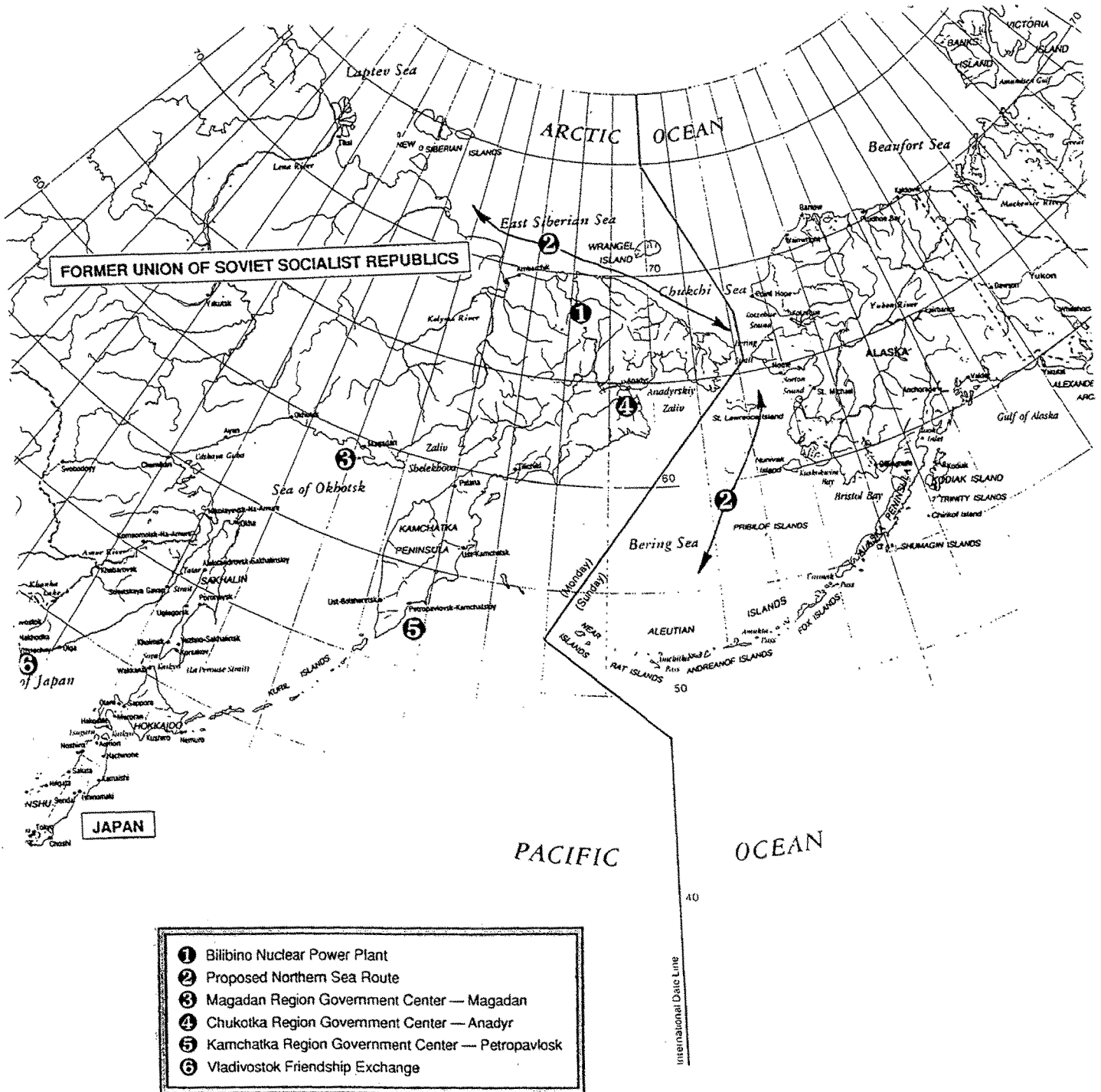
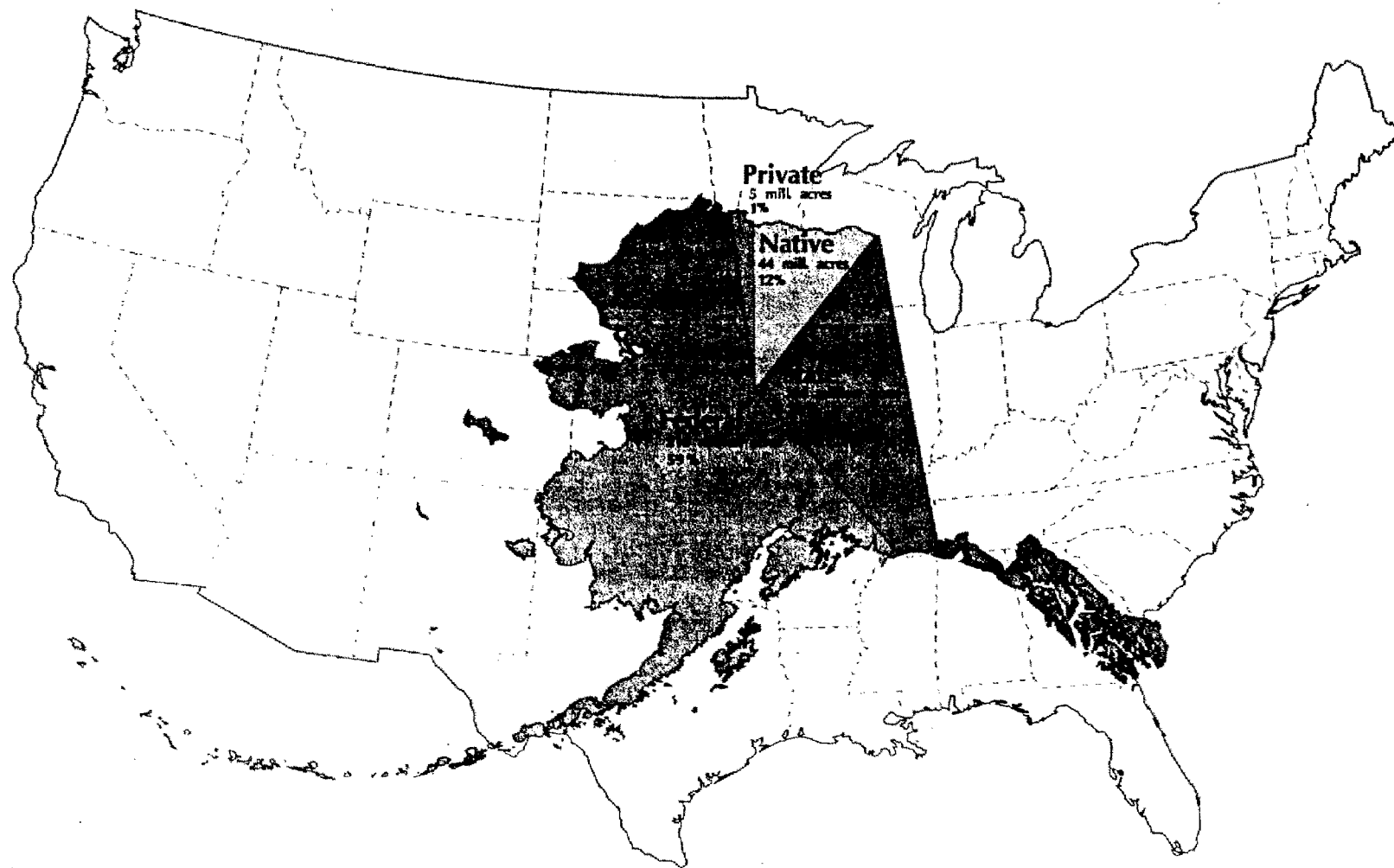


Plate VI. **WHO OWNS ALASKA?**



Alaska Department of Natural Resources

December, 1992

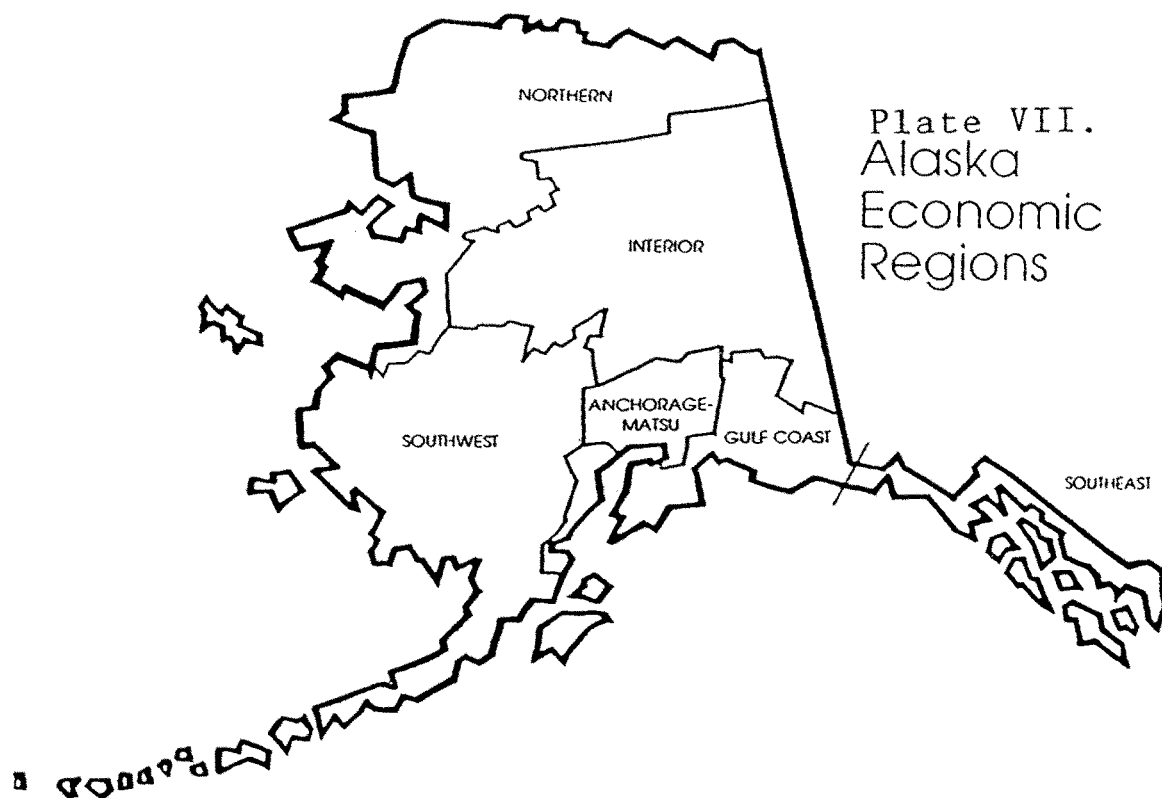


Plate VII.
Alaska
Economic
Regions

Source: Alaska Department of Labor
ALASKA ECONOMIC TRENDS
March 1994

Chapter V

The National Forests And Alaska Commerce

Alaska is the United State's most northerly state, an arctic area with a cold, harsh environment. Its "ecography," that is its economic-geography is unique not only because of the arctic environment, but also because Alaska is the closest part of the United States to Russia, China, and Japan. Alaska has a regional affiliation with such other arctic nations such as Canada, Greenland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Alaska and the Arctic, Governor Walter J. Hickel likes to say, are not so much "difficult as [they are] different."¹

Similarly, the Chugach and Tongass National Forests are different. They are strategically situated on the southcentral and southeastern perimeters of the state and in the more temperate, populated, and accessible zones. The resources of the forests, ranging from their scenic beauty, to the towering Western hemlock and Sitka spruce, to the spawning streams of the salmon are important elements in the welfare and livelihood of the people of the Southeast, Gulf Coast, and Anchorage-Matsu economic regions. Together the National Forest lands comprise six percent (23.2 million acres) of the state's total land area. The National Forests have had a greater influence on the development of the overall Alaska economy than is suggested by the relative size of land holdings.

While the Forests constitute about six percent of the total land area, they contain or adjoin almost ninety percent of the population, and hold a large portion of the state's most valuable mineral, timber, wildlife, and recreational resources.

To put Forest Service management in perspective, the Bureau of Land Management controls 92.4 million acres of Alaska, the State government 84.7 million acres, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service 75.4 million acres, and the National Park Service 50.6 million acres. Natives have title to 35.1 million acres, the military and other Federal agencies 2.6 million acres, and approximately 1 million acres are privately owned.²

Alaska's economy is focused upon the extraction of natural resources. Before World War II the Alaska economy might best be described as "traditional," in that the major enterprises related to trapping or fur farming, fishing, mining, timber, and subsistence. Much of Alaska's commercial activity, historically and in contemporary times, has centered in the Anchorage-Matsu, Gulf Coast, and Southeast economic regions that correspond to the original configuration of the Chugach and Tongass National Forests.

But for subsistence, Alaska's industries have been

highly cyclical in nature. The inception of commercial timber production in the 1920s, and the modern timber and pulp industries after World War II, added a new dimension to Alaskan economic development. Mining and fishing diminished considerably during the interim between 1950 and 1970, but fishing began to experience a sharp recovery in the 1970s. Alaska's post World War II economy relied heavily on timber and fishing, but government employment, the visitor industry, and most significantly petroleum helped create a more diverse and less cyclical economy providing greater opportunities and economic security. The renewable and non-renewable resources of the Chugach and Tongass National Forests have been significant in both the traditional and the modern economy.

The Traditional Economy: Furs, Fishing, and Mining

From the time of Russian occupation until 1880, the fur trade generated most of Alaska's income. The major furs were seal, sea otter (which had been greatly depleted by mid-century) and land mammals such as the fox, land otter, and mink. Fees collected by the Federal government from fur seal concessions on the Pribilof Islands averaged in excess of \$300,000 annually before 1890, while annual Alaska administrative expenditures totaled little more than \$30,000 per year. Fur trapping, fishing, and small mining or panning ventures provided important cash income to supplement a largely subsistence lifestyle. On the Kenai peninsula, trapping provided good income for both Native and whites in the 1880s and 1890s.³ The fur industry generally accounted for a declining portion of Alaskan income through the twentieth century, although briefly, during the 1920s and 1930s, fur farming (fox, and mink) generated some household income.

The Mining Industry

Gold discoveries near Sitka in 1878 and Juneau in 1880, followed by the Klondike strikes in the Yukon in 1896, and near Nome in 1898, led to a short-lived mining boom with gold, silver, zinc, copper and platinum being leading products. By 1900 most major mining operations were in the Alaska interior outside of National Forest lands, but mining remained significant there. In 1906, Cordova, on the southern-most coastal regions of the Chugach National Forest, became the rail and port terminal for Kennicott Copper mines located inland. Well into the twentieth century mining and fishing accounted for most of Alaska's commerce. Income from mining and employment in the mines

peaked in 1916 when mining revenues exceeded \$48 million. Fishing soon displaced mining as the lead industry, but mining continued to be very important until almost World War II. When Kennicott Copper ceased operations in 1938, Cordova survived on fishing, and still does. At the close of the 20th century, most of Cordova's people are employed in fish harvesting or processing.⁴

Mining operations in southeast Alaska continued to decline and became virtually extinct by 1970. Gold mining obtained some relief from the devaluation of currency in 1933.⁵ By 1950, a total of about 18,000 acres of National Forest lands in Region 10 were patented as mining claims under the 1872 mining law, but the claims were basically inactive. Upon the approval of the long-term timber sales, the Forest Service became concerned that: "Many mining claims had been or later would be staked in the sale areas, and thus make it very difficult to allocate the timber on such claims to the timber purchasers."⁶

As a result, in 1956, the Region hired its first qualified mineral examiner and a mining engineer, Howard E. Banta, to conduct technical mineral examinations for determination of surface rights on mining claims under a special act of July 23, 1955 which amended the 1872 mining law. Previously, there were no guidelines for the management of surface rights on mining claims. Forest Rangers made field examinations to determine if a claimant had in fact "proved up their claims," but while the Ranger could discern improvements such as mining shafts or structures, they had no way to determine the value of a mineral deposit. A claim had to contain a valuable deposit in order to pass into private ownership under the mining law. As a result of the lack of adequate inspection and testing of claims "many bogus or otherwise worthless claims passed into private ownership."⁷

Between 1956 and 1961, when Banta transferred to Region 9 for similar work, the Alaska Region approved no patents on mining claims, and reserved timber rights on lands under claim for the Forest Service. Most of the Tongass National Forest and large parts of the Chugach were cleared of possible interference with surface resource management from mining claims. Most of this was done by negotiation with mining claimants and by "advertising them out" by notice in newspapers.⁸ The work signaled the Region's new focus on timber rather than mining.

In 1956, the value of gold produced from the Tongass Forest totaled only \$29,190, and the last year for gold

production to be reported was 1969. Uranium was mined intermittently on Prince of Wales Island between 1961 and 1964, and again between 1970 and 1974. By the 1970s fewer than 50 persons were employed in mining operations in southeastern Alaska. However, in recent years major new mining operations or prospects have developed on the Tongass at Quartz Hills (molybdenum) near Ketchikan, at Greens Creek on Admiralty Island (silver, lead, zinc and gold), and at the older Kensington/Jualin prospects north of Juneau.⁹

The Commercial Salmon Fisheries

The commercial fishing industry began in Alaska in 1878 when salmon canneries began operation at Klawock and Sitka. In the next decade, salteries and canneries were opened at many locations in the region, from Chilkat Inlet in the north to the Ketchikan area in the south. In 1890 there were 10 canneries operating in southeast Alaska. The extensive Loring cannery near Ketchikan was built in 1888 and operated continuously for about 70 years. In some seasons it made the largest pack of any in the territory. As canneries multiplied throughout the region, almost all major stream systems were exploited. The number of canneries in southeast Alaska grew prodigiously and reached a peak at 82 in 1920. Fisheries also developed in Prince William Sound. The first canneries were established on Wingham Island and near the present site of Cordova (Odiak) in 1889. But it was not until about 1915 that the industry became more fully developed in this region. The principal source of salmon was the Copper River. Several canneries were established in the Cordova area, and by 1917, canneries were operating in Cordova, Valdez, Port Nellie Juan, Seward, and other locations.¹⁰

During the early cannery period, fishing was accomplished principally by barricading stream mouths and using beach seines and gaffs to harvest the fish. Trolling for king salmon developed after 1905, when several Ketchikan fishermen successfully imitated Indian trolling methods and began to export mild-cure products. However, the introduction of fish traps by the canneries ultimately accounted for the largest amount of processed fish. The floating trap, invented by the manager of the Loring cannery in Ketchikan about 1907, was stationed wherever migrating fish passed, and could fish continuously in either or both directions. The more efficient traps soon outnumbered the purse seine boats in the region and came to dominate the fishery. There were few controls or regulations and intense competition.¹¹

By 1908 the annual canned salmon pack exceeded one

million cases. Fishing hit records in 1918 with income from the salmon pack at \$51 million. "Salmon and Alaska," said Ernest Gruening, territorial governor from 1939 to 1953, and Alaska Senator from 1958 to 1968, "have been as closely intertwined as cotton and the South."¹² Indeed, Alaska's first federal forest reserve, the Afognak Forest and Fish Culture Reserve, established by President Benjamin Harrison by executive order on December 24, 1892, related to saving the salmon rather than to forestry.¹³

Fisheries and mining attracted a large influx of non-Native immigrants into the region beginning about 1880. With the new immigrants new towns and villages came into being or enveloped older Tlingit and Haida villages. Ketchikan became the southeast regional economic center because of its key position in the fishing industry. Other communities such as Klawock, Craig, Kasaan, Petersburg, and Tenakee also traced their formation to fishing activity. Fishing also stimulated the development of a small scale timber industry. Wood was used in docks, buildings, and other structures, for plank streets, barrels for transporting salted salmon, and boxes for canned salmon. Timber pilings were used to anchor fish traps. The ready availability of timber encouraged the formation of fishing enterprises.¹⁴

Fishing income, led by the salmon pack, exceeded revenues and employment from mining throughout the 1920s. The southeast harvest includes all five species (sockeye, coho, pink, king and chum), while the Prince William Sound salmon fishery is based primarily on sockeye, pink and coho. In the Southeast, over 2,000 rivers on the islands and mainland provide spawning grounds for anadromous fish including salmon which live in nearshore waters for part of their life cycle. Historically, salmon, herring and even whaling were the early targets of the commercial interests, but later commercial fisheries developed for other species including halibut, cod (for meat and liver oil), red snapper, and other groundfish, herring (for bait and oil), trout, crab, shrimp, and more recently herring roe, abalone, sablefish and sea cucumber.

Low prices during the Depression in the 1930s contributed to overfishing and depleted fisheries in the 1940s and 1950s. "Only two products (gold and canned salmon) provided the main base for the region's economy prior to 1954...." Both declined dramatically over the next two decades. Indeed, by 1970 mining had virtually ceased in southeastern Alaska, and salmon fishing, the staple of the economy, had crashed, but was beginning a recovery.¹⁵

Post-War Defense Industries

Defense industries associated with the war quickened the pace of commercial and economic activity in the Chugach. Anchorage, a "raw-boarded" settlement in the Chugach National Forest in 1915, began its emergence during construction of the Alaska Railroad between 1915 and 1923. During World War II Anchorage became the major metropolitan center in Alaska; by the 1990s its population accounted for almost one-half that of the entire state. While of considerably less size than the military installations near Anchorage and the Chugach National Forest, navy, marine, radar and other military installations were established in southeast Alaska during and after World War II.

The Chugach once included the lands that became the City of Anchorage, Elmendorf Air Force Base, and Fort Richardson (as well as Chugach State Park and Kenai National Wildlife Refuge). The end of World War II brought military withdrawals, downsizing, and a short-lived recession, but many former military personnel remained and became the new population base for statehood. The onset of the Cold War brought renewed military activity in Alaska and more people to the Anchorage area in particular. Construction began on Eielson Air Force Base, the DEW (Distant Early Warning) Line, and communication and ballistic missile defense stations. Between 1970 and 1990 the military employed approximately 75,000 people annually, averaging between 10 and 15 percent of the Alaska work force. By 1985 military expenditures in Alaska reached \$1.5 billion, and rose to almost \$2 billion by 1990.¹⁶ Alaska revenues derived from military sources, however, were often as cyclical and undependable as the fishing, mining or timber industries. Moreover, those expenditures did not usually result in capital investment or long-term enhancement of the private sector. All sources of income in Alaska were dwarfed by petroleum revenues after the mid-1970s. With the influx of petroleum revenues to the state, income from timber, while still important in southeast Alaska, became relatively less important to the state at large.

Timber and the Transition to the Modern Economy

Beginning in the 1960s, timber (because of the long-term contracts), and state government (because statehood required the creation of a whole new governing infrastructure) became the leading sectors of the Alaska economy. Timber production was almost exclusively confined to the Chugach and Tongass

National Forests, with the lion's portion of logs coming from the Tongass. Even government, because of the state capitol's location at Juneau within the confines of the Tongass National Forest, impacted most heavily on the southeastern region. By the mid-1970s about 4,500 state employees were located within the Tongass area.¹⁷ The number of state employees increased rapidly for the next several decades as oil revenues began to flow into state coffers.

The forest products industry was the second major employer and source of income for Alaskans in the 1970s. Many diverse elements, including Native and State land settlements, environmental and wilderness legislation, alternative uses for National Forest resources, and the market place, contributed to the downsizing of the Alaska timber industry over a period of several decades following 1970. But through the 1960s and most of the 1970s, timber provided the income for most of the people of Southeast Alaska.

It had been, as state economist George Rogers explained in his analysis of the southeast regional economy, the "economic plight of the region...which increased pressure on the Forest Service to create an expanded timber industry within the region." Louisiana Pacific's Ketchikan Pulp Mill began production in 1954. It averaged 300 tons daily of pulp for use in rayon and cellulose acetate production. The Sitka mill (Alaska Pulp Company) opened in 1959 with a capacity of 390 tons per day—all scheduled for export to Japan. By that year the average timber cut on the Tongass National Forest had jumped to 189 MMBF from an average of 56 MMBF ten years earlier.¹⁸

Cant (a partly trimmed log) and lumber production also rose markedly in conjunction with the long-term contracts. Existing lumber mills expanded and new ones came into being including a large finishing mill operated by Alaska Pulp Company at Wrangell. The Forest Service's Organic Act of 1897 prohibited the export of unprocessed logs from any state or territory in which the forest is located. The purpose was to encourage domestic industry and earn for the local communities the value added by manufacture. In 1926 Congress granted the Secretary of Agriculture the discretion to allow the export of unprocessed logs—but specifically excluded Alaska.¹⁹

Even today, saw logs may only be taken from Alaska National Forests with a finding that a domestic market does not exist. Pulp, chips, and processed forestry products may be exported. Logs can, however, be exported from Alaska Native lands or state lands that

were formerly part of the National Forests. Most of the sale of timber from Native lands has been as whole logs to Japanese markets.

Statehood, ANCSA, and ANILCA affected timber harvests on the National Forests in several ways. As lands were transferred from the federal government to the state or to Native corporations, the sale of unprocessed logs rose such that by 1982 the value of log exports exceeded the value of pulp exports. These land transfers also reduced the timber base from which the Forest Service provided timber for its long-term contractors, and ultimately lessened the dependence of independent lumber manufacturers on National Forest timber. For a time at least, National Forest timber became less significant to the Alaska timber industry, but for the fact that the availability of National Forest timber tended to keep stumpage prices competitive. As dependence on National Forest timber supplies declined, the relative economic impact of the National Forests on Alaska's economy also changed. The use, or the priority and mix of uses of National Forest resources began to shift. As Barbara Johansen, Forest Service Land Law Examiner for the Ketchikan Area commented, "standing trees are becoming relatively more important to the people of Alaska than cut timber."²⁰

But in the short term, that is particularly in the 1960s through much of the 1980s, the economic importance of the National Forests and their dependent forest products industries cannot be underestimated. Timber employed the second largest group of people in Alaska, following state government. Timber provided revenues for state and local governing authorities. By statute, the state receives 25% of the proceeds from timber sales on National Forest lands for use for schools and roads. The following table illustrates the surge in timber production (largely on the Tongass National Forest) that occurred in the 1950s when the first timber sales were made under the long-term contracts. The data suggests the growth of forest products industries through the 1960s, their maturation in the 1970s, and a peak in 1990-1991. In addition, revenues paid the state were not, at least until North Slope oil began to reach the market, inconsequential. (See Table V.1)

Just as the Alaska timber industry reached maturity, petroleum dramatically eclipsed timber and other sectors of the Alaska economy as the new leading edge. The discovery of North Slope oil particularly brought change. Oil "catapulted" the state "into an entirely new phase of economic growth."

TABLE V.1
SUMMARY OF NATIONAL FOREST RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
AND PAYMENTS TO ALASKA, 1950-1993

Fiscal Year	Receipts			Total Payment to Alaska	Expenditures 8/		
	Chugach NF	Tongass NF	Total		Chugach NF	Tongass NF	Total
1945	6,008.52	95,513.53	101,522.05	25,380.51			
1946	11,581.05	44,110.35	55,691.40	13,922.85			
1947 3/	13,456.12	136,564.67	150,020.79	37,196.61			
1948	10,587.17	164,257.29	174,844.46	11,062.61			
1949	10,562.68	142,151.12	152,713.80	5,100.90			
1950	11,754.98	87,813.13	99,568.11	5,605.02			
1951	11,947.84	155,134.88	167,082.72	5,258.57			
1952	18,366.40	245,575.46	263,941.86	7,650.87			
1953	18,681.24	215,723.75	234,404.99	6,784.02			
1954	19,929.12	316,786.39	336,715.51	7,318.16			
1955 4/	14,307.96	593,699.84	608,007.80	460,848.27			
1956	20,297.76	579,693.48	599,991.24	149,997.81			
1957	24,972.36	544,322.24	569,294.60	142,323.65			
1958	32,995.08	278,830.64	311,825.72	77,956.43			
1959	32,901.00	600,151.36	633,052.36	158,263.09			
1960	33,863.04	758,661.40	792,524.44	198,131.11			
1961	41,700.96	808,024.88	849,725.84	212,431.46	505,796.35	2,720,305.69	3,226,102.04
1962	41,818.28	644,549.96	686,368.24	171,592.06	958,600.68	3,025,742.01	3,984,342.69
1963	19,368.84	833,325.40	852,694.24	213,173.56	1,092,691.28	4,553,204.32	5,645,895.60
1964	21,904.92	926,046.80	947,951.72	236,987.93	982,568.74	4,803,209.84	5,785,778.58
1965	18,622.92	850,304.00	868,926.92	217,231.73	2,057,491.72	3,802,447.00	5,859,938.72
1966	29,292.72	1,104,645.44	1,133,938.16	283,484.54	1,047,919.20	4,757,967.92	5,805,887.12
1967	20,174.64	1,599,694.56	1,619,869.20	404,967.30	1,393,018.29	4,409,672.68	5,802,690.97
1968	29,739.80	2,040,492.80	2,070,232.60	517,558.15	1,177,207.93	5,372,421.02	6,549,628.95
1969	70,713.00	2,228,387.44	2,299,100.44	574,775.11	2,003,864.13	5,558,699.23	7,562,563.36
1970	93,132.12	4,230,552.92	4,323,685.04	1,080,921.26	1,527,209.97	4,771,052.76	6,298,225.73
1971	83,971.08	4,124,802.32	4,208,773.40	1,052,193.35	1,645,150.73	8,262,465.07	9,907,615.80
1972 5/	123,225.36	3,405,346.64	3,528,572.00	882,143.00	1,642,070.85	8,363,480.48	9,985,551.33
1973 6/	190,766.68	3,704,893.74	3,895,660.42	973,915.11	1,945,196.58	7,617,609.93	9,562,806.51
1974	179,246.05	2,573,286.38	2,752,532.43	688,133.11	2,274,765.59	10,915,329.04	13,190,094.63
1975	126,518.76	5,120,177.91	5,246,696.67	1,046,078.10	3,959,001.35	13,158,956.24	17,117,957.59
1976	116,324.63	1,118,278.51	1,234,603.14	308,650.78	4,526,658.59	14,489,943.91	19,016,602.50
1976 TO	11,072.39	632,475.12	643,547.51	160,886.88	1,783,682.61	6,606,341.38	8,390,023.99
1977 7/	360,264.26	9,860,886.75	10,221,151.01	2,553,287.75	4,181,476.66	57,661,999.97	61,843,476.63
1978	559,280.74	11,881,999.27	12,441,280.01	3,110,320.00	10,735,686.72	34,450,431.25	45,186,117.97
1979	450,385.71	13,844,410.45	14,294,796.16	3,573,699.04	9,444,927.63	67,248,099.30	76,693,026.93
1980	87,826.66	26,024,494.20	26,112,320.86	6,528,080.25	9,749,747.95	46,613,177.16	56,362,925.11
1981	92,833.95	15,007,943.86	15,100,777.81	3,775,194.45	11,230,714.42	69,454,258.51	80,684,972.93
1982	98,724.39	21,622,763.95	21,721,488.34	5,430,372.09	7,392,734.96	95,897,823.91	103,290,558.87
1983	134,358.12	5,365,915.40	5,500,273.52	1,375,068.41	8,798,976.25	64,831,897.77	73,630,874.02
1984	145,194.81	4,063,188.62	4,208,383.43	1,052,095.86	15,907,553.91	66,208,847.89	82,116,401.80
1985	148,618.55	209,231.13	357,849.68	89,462.44	7,876,875.68	67,144,997.30	75,021,872.98
1986	214,874.60	1,967,239.51	2,182,114.11	545,528.54	7,301,462.79	64,691,991.52	71,993,454.31
1987	171,245.37	<2,033,575.16>	<1,862,329.79>9/	0.00	8,631,018.96	62,421,737.01	71,052,755.97
1988 10/	407,958.88	1,232,671.72	1,640,630.60	410,157.64	15,477,689.81	71,636,267.15	87,113,956.96
1989	240,964.78	20,183,133.33	20,424,098.11	5,106,024.54	13,352,124.03	63,636,163.38	76,988,287.41
1990	218,235.09	36,010,243.25	36,228,478.34	9,057,119.59	16,081,990.50	76,171,682.76	92,253,673.26
1991	226,854.58	36,968,718.37	37,195,572.95	9,298,893.27	15,102,485.00	81,431,711.65	96,534,196.65
1992	290,489.52	13,093,312.19	13,383,801.71	3,345,950.44	15,501,618.05	95,924,753.02	111,426,371.07
1993	748,050.98	14,859,599.77	15,607,650.75	3,901,912.69	19,007,827.03	97,775,261.96	116,783,088.99

1/ 10% only

2/ Adjustment for overpayment in Prior Years

3/ P.L. 80-385 Impounded TTF Funds so State only received NFF Portion until 1956

4/ P.L. 84-758 released TTF collections for FY 1947-55 and resulted in payment of \$455,086.93 to the State of Alaska.

5/ Tongass Timber Closed 4/1/72 Deposits made to NFF. Established Escrow Acct for KPC Appeal

6/ The contract board of appeals ruled adverse to the Forest Service and for the KPC appeal regarding a Forest Service rate redetermination. A special escrow account had been set up to collect and deposit rates above base. As directed by the Board the Forest Service refunded \$314,255.16 from Tongass Timber Funds collected in FY 1970-71. 25% of this amount (\$78,563.79) represented over payment to the State of Alaska for this period. An additional \$352,262.29 collected for FY 1972-73 was refunded from TSDF.

7/ Establishment of Purchaser Credit

8/ Regional Office portion of expenditures has been distributed to Forests on a percentage of expenditures basis.

9/ Per CG Decision B-224730 for March 31, 1987, the deficit balance is the result of implementing the retroactive emergency stumpage rates on the Granite Timber Sale contract provided under the authority of Section 4 of the Federal Timber Contract Modification Act, P.L. 98-478. The total effects of the modification are as follows: KV (\$219,173.86 and PRC (\$3,954,344.32) Total (\$4,173,518.18).

10/ Inclusion of timber salvage sale fund earnings were temporarily added for fiscal years 1988 (P.L. 100-202) and 1989 (P.L. 100-446) due to the major loss of "green" timber from fires. This addition has now been made permanent.

Petroleum

In the 1970s petroleum became the new leading edge defining Alaska economic development, dwarfing defense, timber, fishing, and mining, and greatly enhancing the revenues for state government. A discovery well near Katalla, southeast of Cordova in the Chugach National Forest, launched Alaska's petroleum industry in 1902, but a refinery fire in 1931, and depression, ended production. Congress did establish Navy petroleum reserves in northern Alaska in 1923. The United States Navy between 1944 and 1953 spent \$60 million on oil exploration in the Arctic "discovering two oil fields and three gas fields." By that time Congress had placed a total of 52.4 million acres of public domain lands in Alaska in petroleum reserves, compared to a total of 20.7 million acres in National Forests. Another 8 million acres were in wildlife refuges, 7 million in National Parks and Monuments, and 3.5 million acres set-aside for native reservations.²¹ The growing national demand for fuels, and the Navy's explorations provided the incentive for private exploration in the 1950s and 1960s.

Atlantic Richfield discovered oil in 1957 in the Kenai Peninsula northeast of Kenai. Union Oil Company located a large gas field in the area, and Amoco Oil drilled the first offshore well in Cook Inlet in 1962. Cook Inlet oil and gas production continued to be developed with cumulative production by 1990 in excess of 1.2 billion barrels of oil and 3.7 trillion cubic feet of gas.²² The oil activity associated with the Cook Inlet and Kenai fields was largely concentrated in the Kenai National Wildlife Reserve, administered by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.²³

The impact of petroleum production on the Kenai Reserve and the nearby Chugach National Forest and other federal land managers had largely to do with increasing pressures from petroleum and other commercial interests to "develop" the resources of the Kenai Reserve and the Chugach National Forest. The discoveries helped bring the American petroleum industry and Congress to support Alaskan statehood and to begin resolving long-standing problems regarding land titles and claims. Commercial and developmental interests began to exert considerable pressure to return the Kenai Reserve, and all of the Chugach National Forest, to the public domain in order to provide opportunities for private and state acquisition of those lands.²⁴

But in the late Sixties, the discovery of vast oil reserves on the North Slope of Alaska, at Prudhoe Bay, dwarfed

the oil activities on Kenai and Cook Inlet. North Slope production did not directly impinge upon the Alaska National Forests—but indirectly the impact proved very significant. The sale of leases on the Prudhoe Bay field in 1969 generated \$900 million in revenues—most of which would go to the state of Alaska. Under the Statehood Act, Alaska received 102,950,000 acres of land in the public domain, plus 400,000 acres of land in the National Forests. Alaska also received 70% of the net proceeds of the Pribilof seal industry and 90% of royalties and net profit from oil, gas, and mineral leases in the public domain.²⁵

Alaska is unique among the 50 states in that its citizens in common possess subsurface mineral rights on both state and federal lands, and are collectively the owners of all surface resources on state lands. Thus, the people of Alaska are entitled to the receipts from all mineral royalties on the federal lands, which comprise 59% of the land area of Alaska, and subsurface and surface receipts from state-owned lands, which comprise 28% of the surface area of Alaska. Eighty-seven percent of any royalty interests in Alaska are collectively owned by the people of Alaska. Governor Walter Hickel refers to Alaska for that reason as an "owner state," and he suggests that without state government participation there can be no sustainable economic development in Alaska.²⁶

Despite the North Slope petroleum discoveries, North Slope oil did not reach markets for almost a decade. "...the launching was delayed for more than four years while the state and the nation struggled to find ways of coping with the social, economic, political, and environmental issues raised by the prospect of oil development."²⁷ Delivery of oil from Prudhoe Bay to national markets required a pipeline through territories claimed in part by indigenous Native peoples, and through fragile arctic environments. Land transfers and titles were frozen by Alaska Native land claims and court actions. Environmental organizations interposed court actions under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), and other mineral laws.²⁸

Congressional approval of ANCSA in 1971 resolved the problem of Native land claims. It also conveyed 44 million acres of public land, including 550,000 acres of the Tongass National Forest, and \$962,000,000 dollars to twelve (later thirteen) Native American corporations. In 1973 Congress amended the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920, and passed the Trans-Alaska Pipeline Authorization Act exempting the proposed pipeline from NEPA requirements. Congress acted under coercion of the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries)

embargo and critical oil shortages affecting the U.S. markets. Construction of the trans-Alaska pipeline finally began in 1974.²⁹

The first Prudhoe Bay oil was pumped into a tanker at the Valdez terminal in Prince William Sound in 1977. That year Alaska oil production of 171 million barrels more than doubled the 1976 output of 67 million barrels. In 1978 production more than doubled again to 444 million barrels, rose to 738 million barrels in 1988, and stabilized at approximately 650 million barrels through 1994. For the decade 1980 through 1990, the state collected approximately \$2.6 billion annually from petroleum related royalties, rents and taxes. Since 1959 the state has collected about \$40 billion in oil revenues. Eighty-five percent of state income is derived from petroleum revenues, but petroleum revenues declined in the 1990s.³⁰

Table V.2
Alaska Oil and Natural Gas Liquid Production,
1972-1991 [Millions of Barrels]

Year	Oil*	Natural Gas**
1972	73.6	0.608
1973	73.1	0.812
1974	72.2	0.793
1975	72.0	0.765
1976	67.0	0.770
1977	171.3	0.863
1978	444.8	0.815
1979	511.3	0.635
1980	591.6	0.735
1981	587.3	0.988
1982	618.9	0.999
1983	625.6	0.692
1984	630.4	0.678
1985	666.2	0.986
1986	681.3	1.600
1987	716.0	16.500
1988	738.1	20.300
1989	684.0	18.045
1990	647.3	18.190
1991	656.3	23.880

* Avg. production 1902-1971 totaled 396,537,603 bbls.

** Natural gas liquid production 1902-1971 totaled 1,312,113 bbls[1 bbl = 31.5 gal.] Source: Alaska Almanac, 16th ed., p. 139.

These revenues enabled the state to improve its infrastructure of schools, roads, airfields, and governmental agencies. State government employment rose by almost 20% in the 1980s, while city and community employment rose proportionately. State government

spending became the engine of state economic development. Federal non-military employment levels remained remarkably stable. Thus, government and petroleum became major sectors of an increasingly diversified economy after 1970. By the close of the decade crude oil prices had declined from \$30 a barrel in 1982 and 1983 to \$15—with reciprocal pressures on state government spending.³¹

The state chafed from several conditions imposed on its rights to subsurface royalties on federal lands. Because the federal government, through various laws approved after statehood, including ANILCA, prohibited mineral development, or restricted exploration to the point that it would become uneconomic, Alaska would be effectively deprived of potential royalties from 171 million acres of Alaska lands—an area equal in size to the state of Texas. Secondly, federal statute prohibited the export of North Slope oil to any foreign country, thus excluding Alaskan oil from the world market place, where not infrequently, better prices could be obtained. "No other state," the Governor explains in public statements widely distributed, "is exclusively prohibited from selling its resources in the world marketplace."³² Congress did not remove the export prohibition until 1995.

Nevertheless, by 1970 the Alaska economy, while still heavily extractive, cyclical and seasonal, began to be more diversified and more robust, if not affluent. About one-third of the Alaskan labor force worked in the traditional industries including forest products, fishing, and mining. Most of those living within or adjacent to the Tongass and Chugach National Forests, as in the past, derived their livelihood from the forests and the sea. Whereas before 1970 relatively few Alaskans were employed by government (and most of those Federal employees), by 1985 more than one third of the labor force were government employees (and most of those state and local government employees). Petroleum and government now exceeded the combined income from timber, fisheries, and mining in the overall economy. But a growing sector of the economy, virtually non-existent before 1960, also began to expand in the midst of the traditional extractive industries, as a new leading sector for economic growth. This was the visitor industry—a conglomerate of transportation, retail, and services industries associated with tourism and recreation.

Visitor Industries

Alaska's visitor industries—tourism, transportation, hotels, motels, restaurants, recreation, outfitting, sport hunting and fishing, kayaking and sightseeing are

heavily oriented toward sites, towns, and resources associated with the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. The modern visitor industry grew out of an older and largely passive recreational use of National Forest resources.

Alaska attracted considerable attention in the literary press before 1900, being the topic or setting for writers such as novelist Jack London, naturalist John Muir, educator Sheldon Jackson, and missionary S. Hall Young. The passing of the traditional western frontier, marked in the 1890s by the Bureau of Census and historian Frederick Jackson Turner among others, turned American nostalgia to a last frontier—the Alaskan frontier. Tour ships began sailing from Portland, Tacoma, and Seattle among other west coast ports with stops at Victoria, Wrangell, Juneau, Sitka and Indian villages and glaciers. Customs authorities reported 1,605 sightseers in 1884; 2,753 in 1886; and 5,007 in 1900. The gold rush of 1898 brought thousands of new people to Alaska and a new level of excitement and interest among the newspaper, book and magazine devotees in the states.³³

Visits to Alaska, however, would long be impeded by its relative inaccessibility. The Northern Pacific Railroad, linking Minneapolis and St. Paul and points east reached Tacoma, Washington in 1883. James J. Hill completed the northernmost transcontinental railway, the Great Northern, to Seattle in 1893. Transportation northward to Alaska depended on unscheduled, poor and uncertain service by itinerant steamers, and fishing boats; or on the vessels of the Alaska Steamship Company notorious for its high rates and monopolistic practices.³⁴

Local non-Native residents' recreational uses usually extended to hunting and fishing. Enforcement of game and fishing regulations was largely passive. As a practical matter the relatively small Forest Service staff could not monitor, much less control resource uses. Local people and visitors came and went freely, but there were relatively few residents and few visitors. Most who came visited the forests for sport, subsistence and recreational purposes. The 1909 Forest Service "Use" book recognized the National Forests as "great playgrounds for the people....used more or less every year by campers, hunters, fishermen, and thousands of pleasure seekers from the near-by towns."³⁵ But in the early days relatively few used the Alaska National Forests for recreation. That began to change.

In 1915, Congress authorized the Forest Service to lease sites for thirty year terms for cabins, summer

homes and resorts. By 1920, "22,288 acres of land and two miles of railway" were under lease in the Chugach National Forest, "and 13,355.6 acres in the Tongass"—much of the latter near Juneau.³⁶ This recreational leasing became increasingly popular throughout the United States, but related largely to use by residents of adjoining communities. About this time Forest Rangers began issuing "special use" permits for such activities as building temporary hunting or fishing cabins, gathering wood or cutting single trees for firewood, smoking fish, or home repair. The close of World War I and rapid urbanization and rising prosperity in the lower-48 generated new interest in sports and recreation. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge called into session a National Conference on Outdoor Recreation, headed by Chief Forester Leon Kniepp. Arthur C. Ringland, who began his forestry career with the Division of Forestry in 1900 and accumulated almost seven decades of distinguished work in forestry and public service, replaced Kniepp as Executive Secretary of the Conference. (Ringland, incidentally, investigated forest conditions in Alaska in 1916. His recommendations led, in 1921, to the separation of the Alaska Forests from Region 6, headquartered in Portland, and the creation of Region 10 as an independent administrative unit of the Forest Service.) The Conference, and Ringland's work, helped imprint "recreation" as a major use of National Forest resources on the consciousness of the Forest Service.³⁷

Perhaps as a part of that rising consciousness, Congress created the Glacier Bay National Monument in Alaska in 1925, to be administered by the National Park Service. Some years passed before Congress appropriated funds for a park superintendent and ranger. The first stirrings of recreational uses of the forests collapsed with the advent of the Great Depression.

Recreational use of Alaska National Forests remained minimal until after World War II. In 1940, Alaska had 73,000 residents, almost one-half of whom were Native Americans. The Alaskan Natives and many white settlers hunted and fished for subsistence—not for recreation. The relative increases in population and prosperity after the war stimulated greater local interest in recreational uses of the National Forests. Alaska's population almost doubled between 1940 and 1950, from 73,000 to 126,000, and rose to 226,000 in 1960 and 300,000 in 1970. Anchorage, which counted 11,254 residents in 1950 boasted 226,338 in 1990.³⁸

PLATE VIII THE ALASKA MARINE HIGHWAY

Ketchikan Ketchikan is the picturesque center of the Southeastern Alaska fishing industry. A season-long Salmon Derby attracts saltwater fishermen. Ketchikan is also the home of the world's largest collection of totem poles.

Hollis Hollis is the ferry terminal serving the Prince of Wales Island Communities of Craig, Klawock, Hydaburg and Thorne Bay. Cultural sites compliment a variety of outdoor activities and excellent wildlife viewing opportunities.

Wrangell Wrangell began as a fur-trading post in 1834, and since that time has thrived under three different flags--Russian, English, and American. Timber and commercial fishing support this community, which sponsors an annual Salmon Derby in May and June.

Petersburg Petersburg's harbor is home to more than 160 fishing vessels, manned by the grandchildren of Scandinavian pioneers who founded this "Little Norway." Five fish-processing plants dot the area, and the world's largest salmon--126.5 pounds--was caught in nearby waters.

Sitka Established by Alaska's discoverer, Alexander Baranof--was one of the earliest Russian settlements in Alaska; and the capital of Russian Alaska until its purchase by the United States. The city still retains much of its Russian flavor; and the Russian Orthodox St. Michael's Cathedral is an outstanding tourist attraction.

Juneau Surrounded by towering mountains and glaciers, Juneau can be reached only by air or sea. Alaska's capital offers excellent hunting, fishing, and skiing nearby. And a flight over the Juneau Icefield is an excursion you'll never forget.

Haines-Port Chilkoot Haines links the Alaska Marine Highway with land routes through Alaska and the Yukon Territory. The famous Chilkat Indian Dancers, and Indian arts and crafts, attract hosts of interested sightseers.

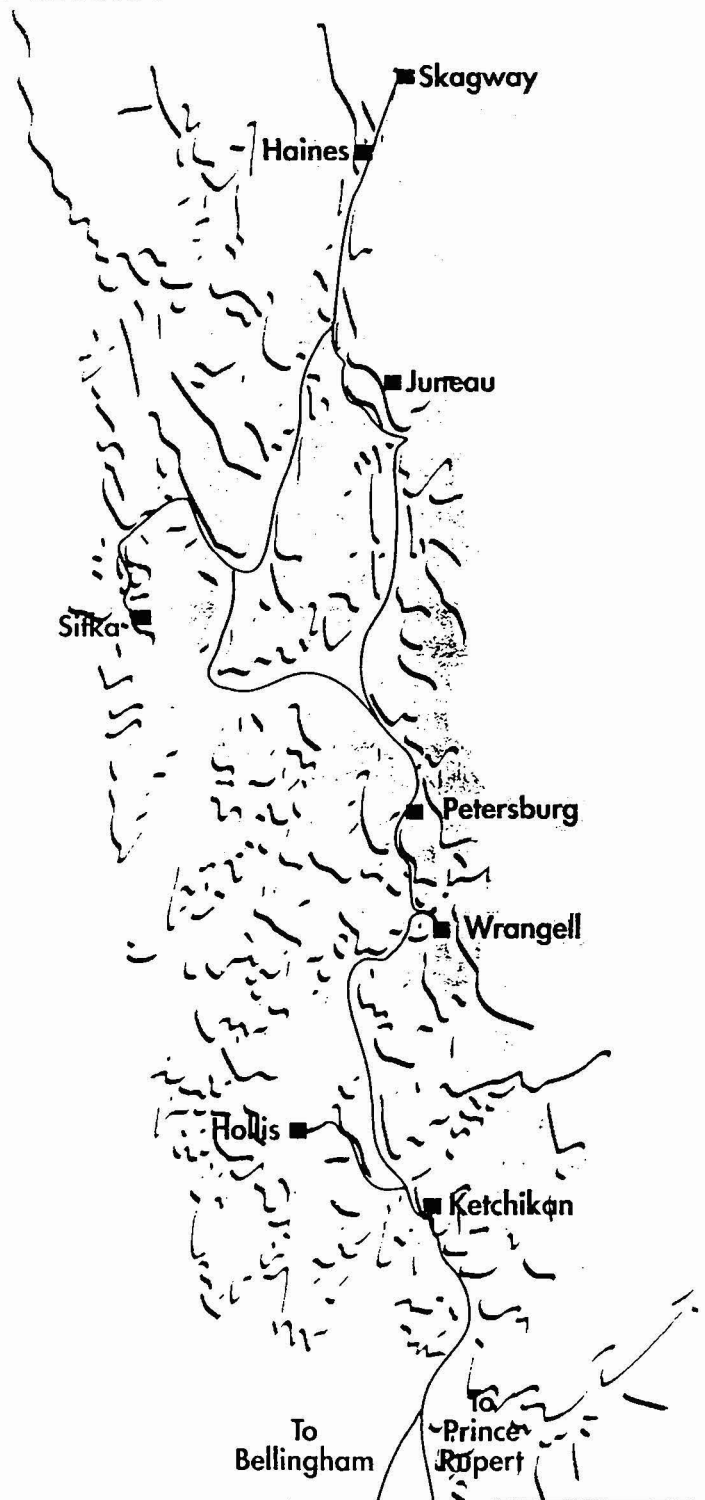
Skagway Skagway, a true frontier town, is a reminder of the great Klondike Gold Rush of '98. Wooden sidewalks, weather-beaten buildings, and the summer "Days of '98" pageant all help recreate the days of Soapy Smith--the most notorious con man and criminal of the Gold Rush, who based his operation in Skagway.

For more information about Alaska's unique Marine Highway System, write to:

Alaska Marine
Highway System
P.O. Box 25535
Juneau, Alaska
99802-5535

Average Running Times

Bellingham to Ketchikan	34 hours
Ketchikan to Wrangell	5 hours
Wrangell to Petersburg	3 hours
Petersburg to Juneau	7 1/2 hours
Petersburg to Sitka	9 hours
Juneau to Sitka	8 1/2 hours
Juneau to Haines	4 hours
Haines to Skagway	1 hour



Transportation, the Forests, and the Economy

Much of Alaska, and prominently the southeast comprising the Tongass National Forest, and portions of the Chugach on the southcentral coast—as well as the Aleutian chain and much of the interior—are accessible only by boat or airplane. The state capital, Juneau, and most of its coastal cities are inaccessible by road. The only highway connection to Alaska is the Alcan Highway, originally constructed during World War II.

The modern Alaska visitor industry depended upon the development of an adequate transportation infrastructure. That began with the inception of regular (and irregularly) scheduled air travel in the 1920s, the construction of the Alaska Highway during World War II, and following statehood in 1959, the creation of the Alaska Marine Highway in the 1960s.

The Alaska Marine Highway

When it became a state there was no regularly scheduled passenger vessel service to Alaska. One of the first actions of the legislature, approved by a state-wide referendum, was approval of a bonded indebtedness for the construction of a state-owned Marine Highway System. Its first vessel, the M.V. *Chilkat* entered service in 1961, and by 1963 three larger vessels were commissioned. More were added and service extended to more communities. The largest vessel, the M.V. *Columbia*, at 418 feet with a width of 85 feet and a capacity for 1,000 passengers including 324 berths and 180 standard automobiles, began service in the summer of 1974. Eight vessels were in service by 1990, with a new large vessel scheduled for entry in 1995. The Alaska Marine Highway carries an average of 415,000 passengers and 111,000 vehicles annually.³⁹ Despite the expansion of its distinctive inland marine highway system, access to Alaska remained a major obstacle to visitor industry expansion and general economic development.

Once an automobile unloads from the ferry into the coastal cities or towns of the Tongass National Forest there are few roads to points outside of the town. Those roads that do exist are most often logging roads constructed under Forest Service timber sale contracts. "Roads and recreation," Jim Moe, Forest Engineering and Aviation Officer of the Ketchikan Area, Tongass National Forest, explains "are closely intertwined." For example, in 1950, there were no roads on Prince of Wales Island. Beginning in the 1950s under the long-term timber contracts, logging roads were constructed on the Island, and later in the 1980s and 1990s, those

roads were interconnected under planned timber sales to create a road infrastructure. Now, in the '90s Moe notes, the roads are being upgraded and transferred to state authority.⁴⁰

Moe, and Gary Schauwecker, a Forest Engineer on the Chatham Area who came to the Tongass in 1965, stressed that most of the roads in southeast Alaska were built because of the long-term timber contracts. Both emphasized the very high cost of road construction in the Region compared to the "lower 48."⁴¹ Many of the major highways in the Chugach National Forest, connecting Anchorage to the Kenai peninsula and coastal areas, were also originally constructed in the 1950s by the Forest Service. In the 1950s, Forest Service engineers initiated a plan for a roadway through the Tongass that would tie in with the southern areas of the Alcan Highway as illustrated below. After statehood, state engineers participated in trans-Tongass highway planning, but the roadway was never constructed. The plan was thwarted in Congress in the 1970s by interests opposed to rapid development in Alaska—as is discussed in the following chapter.

Air Transportation

Much of Alaska's internal traffic is by air, and that service is provided by a host of small independent charter services, and by several larger airlines such as Alaska Airlines, and Mark Air. Alaska Airlines began with local service between Anchorage and Bristol Bay in 1932, with a single-engine, three passenger Stinson aircraft. It has since become the tenth largest carrier in the United States, carrying approximately 6.4 million passengers in 1993. Air service has been critical to the survival of Alaska commerce and to the visitor industry. Alaska Airlines connects Seattle to most of Alaska's coastal cities and to Anchorage. Northwest and United Airlines have international stops in Anchorage. Commuter and charter plane services shuttle passengers to more remote points.⁴²

Air transportation, by float plane and helicopter, has since the 1960s also become integral to the routine of Forest Service administration. Whereas access to a sale site may have taken two or three days by boat, float planes and helicopters can get the personnel there in hours or minutes—but that too comes at a cost. Even routine work assignments, Ronald M. Knowles, Administrative Officer on the Chatham points out, require lead time and high costs. The Chatham has a larger radius to the work site than any other area of the Tongass, or the Chugach. "Trees are smaller, distances are longer, and economics are tougher here," he said. A round trip fare from the Area Supervisor's office in

Sitka to the Regional Office in Juneau costs about \$175 (in 1995), and in past years often cost that much for a one-way fare. On the other hand, transportation by the Forest Service work boats, the *Sitka Ranger* the *Tongass Ranger* or the *Chugach*, often involves days or weeks of travel. A floating work camp, the *Nakwasina*, provides long-term accommodations for larger remote work crews.⁴³ Transportation, largely taken for granted in the lower 48 states, is a problem distinctive both to the state of Alaska, and to the daily management of the National Forests in Alaska.

Cruise and Tour Industries

Chuck West, generally regarded as the father of Alaska tourism, introduced Alaska tours shortly after World War II, and founded Westours, Inc. Westours chartered tourists aboard Alaska Steamship vessels until the line halted its Alaska passage in 1954. West chartered his own vessels and introduced the modern Alaska cruise with two 135-passenger vessels in 1957. Large and well-appointed ships operated by Princess, Holland-America (which later acquired Westours), Alaska Sightseeing and other lines expanded service to Alaska in the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁴

In June 1969, for example, Princess Tours placed the *M.V. Princess Italia* into service for eight cruises each year from San Francisco through the inside passage. *Sourdough Notes* termed the ship an "opulent" vessel, staffed with an Italian crew of 250, including two orchestras and twenty entertainers. The ship, carrying 400 passengers on each cruise, made stops at Vancouver, Prince Rupert, Ketchikan, Juneau, Skagway, and Victoria. "Wow!" exclaimed the forester-writer.⁴⁵ Those ships spent much of their time in Alaskan waters within sight of the Tongass or more recently in Prince William Sound in view of the Chugach National Forest. Within a decade four and five such vessels plied the Inland waters at one time. The visitor industry really became an Alaskan and National Forest phenomenon in the 1980s.

Alaska State Forester Earl Plourde began recreational planning on a regional scope by creating the Alaska Outdoor Recreation Council in 1964. The Council included representatives from many state agencies, and most federal agencies operating in Alaska, including the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, and USDA Forest Service. A study by the Alaska Division of Tourism in 1974 indicated almost a four-fold increase in the number of tourists visiting Alaska since 1964. Air traffic expanded greatly. Airlines carried 22% of Alaska visitors in 1964 and almost

40% by 1974. After 1970, the greatest number of visitors came by air, the second largest number by land over the Alaska Highway, followed by cruise ships and the Marine Highway. Marine Highway traffic declined relatively although it operated at full capacity throughout.⁴⁶

During this decade, 1970-1980, total wages for tourist-related industries rose from \$9.6 million to \$40.3 million.

Mode of Travel	1964	1967	1970	1973	Annual Increase(%)
Alaska Highway	23,300	33,950	44,000	66,000	14.7
Airline	13,250	20,600	38,000	84,100	22.7
Marine Highway	11,650	18,950	20,000	28,800	10.55
Cruise Ship	11,000	13,200	27,000	36,400	12.84
Total	59,200	86,700	129,000	215,300	15.4

[Source: Alaska Division of Tourism, *Number of Tourists Entering Alaska by Mode of Transportation, February 1974*].

The Division of Tourism estimated the economic impact of tourism increased from \$18 to \$72 million annually. By 1990, tourists were spending in excess of \$300 million annually in Alaska.⁴⁷

The role of the Forest Service was initially passive. In the 1960s the Forest Service began providing cabins as a safety measure for use by local residents for hunting and fishing. This program later expanded to encompass a broader recreational user. During the decades of the seventies and eighties Forest management became attuned, and then more involved in recreational and visitor planning and development. A shipboard interpretive program, visitor centers, trails and camp grounds became prominent elements of Forest Service involvement. Landscape architects began designing timber sales in a way as to reduce their visual impact. Interdisciplinary planning teams including Regional Office specialists, Forest administrators, State Law and Fish and Game representatives, and SEALASKA native corporation provided planning direction relating to recreation and other areas. The Region established "citizen involvement group sessions" (paying travel and expenses for attendance) to gain greater insight into the needs and interests of Alaska residents.⁴⁸

Even in a passive role, as scenic and recreational areas, the Tongass and Chugach National Forests were critical to the developing visitor industry. Multiple-use and forest management and planning in the quarter-century between 1970 and 1995 increasingly involved

recreation and tourism as major uses of forest resources. The visitor industry became an important and growing part of the Forests' constituency, rivaling the older traditional fishing, mining, and timber groups, but lacking the cohesiveness of the other groups.

The visitor industry, for example, included the large cruise companies and airlines. The local packer and wilderness guide vied with the sport hunting and fishing outfitter for customers and territory. The large restaurants and hotels offered services similar to those provided by the bed and breakfast homeowner. All, in one sense, competed with local residents who believed that visitors intruded upon their territory and threatened the lifestyle of relative isolation and tranquility that they preferred. Environmentalists could, and did, differ in their support for or opposition to the growing visitation on National Forest areas. Tourism, recreation, and subsistence became more separate and identifiable elements of resource use.

The demands of local residents for recreational opportunities sometimes complemented and at other times clashed with the needs of visitors. Local hunters and fishermen often disliked competing with outsiders led by professional guides. Sightseeing, boating, hiking, camping, skiing and other recreational activities increased rapidly in the vicinity of Anchorage and other larger cities and towns. Recreational uses rose not only proportional to population growth, but in response to greater affluence and the rising popularity of recreation as a cultural past-time.

Table V.4 Population Changes, 1960-1995			
Calendar	Year	Population Change	% Increase
1960	230,400	-	-
1965	265,200	34,800	15
1970	308,500	43,300	16
1975	384,100	75,600	25
1980	419,800	35,700	9
1985	541,300	121,500	29
1990	553,600	12,300	2

[Source: Alaska Population Projections, Alaska Dept. of Labor.]

Issues of the 1970s

Compared with the way the Forest Service had done business before 1970, and the people with whom it had conducted that business, things changed considerably after 1970. Chugach Supervisor Barney A. Coster concluded that "the rapidity of change, which is taking

place from one year to another, makes reliance on past history for management decisions unworkable."⁴⁹

The Alaska Region, already understaffed by comparison to most Forest Service Regions, found itself by 1970 critically ill-equipped and understaffed to fulfill the new obligations imposed by Congress, the influx of new visitors, and by simple economic and population growth in the region. The difficulties were compounded by very real Forest Service budget cuts and hiring freezes triggered by the accelerating war in Vietnam. Federal spending commitments to defense and the war in Vietnam, to the National Aeronautical and Space Administration (NASA), and the recently established Great Society programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) soared between 1960 and 1970. More than two dozen new federal agencies were created between 1960 and 1980. Federal budget deficits grew and spending tightened, particularly after 1969 as Vietnam drew more and more of the nation's resources.⁵⁰

On January 6, 1970, Regional Forester W. Howard Johnson responded to a request from the North Tongass National Forest Supervisor, Vincent N. Olson, for additional timber sale funds with a rather stern admonition, marking the onset of tough times:

Because of the Viet Nam War, shortage of money, war on inflation, and other urgent needs of the Nation, we must proceed with a growing program under more stringent budget and manpower ceilings. You must curtail unnecessary projects and assure a maximum of the dollars you receive are spent on the ground in productive work. I caution you to maintain fund integrity and place the cut and sell dollars where they will produce the maximum benefit in preparing and administering timber sales.⁵¹

On January 23, 1970, Johnson, who came to the Regional Forester office with experience in recreation and wilderness management, called a special management conference of R10 supervisors and division chiefs for early February. "The Forest Service," he said, "and particularly the Alaska Region face one of the most critical times in the history of the National Forest System."⁵²

Our program is constantly and increasingly being questioned in light of today's and tomorrow's social as well as economic needs. We are commonly in a defensive posture, justifying our actions or decisions. Our authorities are being challenged not only in open public discussions, but more recently

through the legal process involving court action.

The developing ground swell of public concern for our environment is causing a complete realignment of natural resource values. Congress is reacting to this with legislative proposals which may have far reaching effects on our program. Congressional and executive proposals for transfer of the Forest Service to Interior or a new department are being supported by Public Land Law Review Commission reports. The PLLRC and its study contractors are considering significant changes in organization, authorities, management and administration of the National Forest System as we know it today.

* * *

Coupled with these clouds on the horizon is the ever increasing workload magnified by unforeseen demands on our time and available funds. Responding to native claims legislation, expanding state selection requests, citizen wilderness proposals, etc., while available manpower and money remain static or are reduced or restricted creates a situation demanding an almost superhuman effort on the part of all of us.⁵³

The "Issues of the 1970s"—wilderness, fisheries, timber harvest, tourism, multiple-use, sustained yields, and State and Native land selections reflected Alaska's underlying economic interests and issues and the everyday business of the Region. Multiple-use planning, environmental impact studies, forest planning, ANCSA dispositions, and recreation planning all involved intense public interaction through interdisciplinary panels, public hearings, and meetings. Those issues, like the National Forests and their resource uses, were diverse and complex. The implementation of new planning procedures and structures, which included greater public participation in forest planning, helped bring the issues of the seventies into focus.

As Others See Us

Informal samplings taken in 1972 by *Sourdough Notes* staff to the question of how the public viewed the Forest Service reflects the "issues of the 1970s." A miner, for example, said that the chief value he placed on the forest had to do with its mineral resources. But mineral exploration was on hold, he said, because companies are concerned about the land withdrawals (under ANCSA), and the efforts of environmentalists and recreationists to "lock up large sections of the land." He thought, however, that mineral exploration could co-exist with recreation, and commercial and sports

fishing.⁵⁴

A logger said his access to timber on the National Forests meant "continued growth and trade for the state of Alaska by furnishing the United States and other countries of the world with forest products." He saw no problem in continuing to provide forest products while preserving hunting, fishing, and other recreational opportunities. "We are not out to rape the land and our economics in logging are such that we are not going to get rich and everybody knows that."⁵⁵

A pulp company official considered the forest as "one of the most valuable possessions of the U.S." The forests offered opportunities for sports fishing, camping, and commercial timber growing and harvesting. "To any reasonable person, there seems to be something there for everyone." The pulp industry, he thought, was doing the general public a service in cutting climax type forests and establishing healthy young regrowth forests.⁵⁶

A fisherman observed that "Many of us commercial fishermen depend on the National Forests of southeast Alaska to protect our salmon runs which we depend upon to make our living." He thought logging and fishing could be compatible, but there were problems to work out.⁵⁷ A native fisherman explained that his only interest in the National Forest was its function to "hold the water back and the mud" and "everything together in the river basin so the (salmon) eggs don't wash away." "My family has been going to Deep Bay up in Peril Straits for generations. I go there every fall to catch fish for smoking for the winter, as my father, and his father has been doing for years. It is a tradition of my family."⁵⁸

An officer of the Sitka Native Association had a different view of the National Forests. Although he appreciated the Forest Service's efforts to protect wildlife and preserve the natural beauty of the land, the Forest Service, he thought, was impeding Native land selections prescribed by ANCSA. Moreover, Native leaders were opposed to the creation of the National Forest in the first place: "I feel that this land was ours in the beginning."⁵⁹

An airline pilot thought the National Forest preserved the best recreational aspect of the land. The lakes, creeks, mountains, all that has (gone) unchanged in my lifetime here, and will most likely go unchanged for hundreds of years. A Sitka high school student, commented that the forests had no "money value for me like a logger or a miner or something." "I just like them," he said. "I think the forest is really beautiful. I love the

woods. The trees matter to so many things and it's all inter-related and when you take a chain out it starts to fall apart. I wish that logging did not have to be done."⁶⁰

Rupe Andrews, Director, Sport Fish Division, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, was very critical of the Forest Service, perhaps reflecting the view that the National Forests impeded development and use of Alaska lands by Alaska citizens. "In the decade of the sixties the Forest Service was an organization going nowhere and chasing nothing. ...Competition for timber and recreational use on the national forests across the land exploded together in the sixties. ...The Forest Service, in my opinion, was ill prepared in its management policies to effectively cope or plan for the needs of the people." Administrators were confused. A degree in forestry had not prepared foresters for the complex problems of the sixties. Moreover, Andrews suggested that multiple land-use management was absurd:

Fishery workers especially view multiple use with apprehension as they have watched fish habitat drastically altered, and in some cases, destroyed by logging activities under the guise of multiple use. While all this was going on, the Forest Service acted as referee between industry and the recreational public while they slugged it out for public opinion.⁶¹

Despite the far greater demands and stress placed on the Alaska Region, the new era of Forest planning facilitated the implementation of multiple-use, wilderness, and public welfare guidelines. Forest planning offered certain operational economies by avoiding duplication, "shot-gun" approaches to problems, and revisions or repairs to ill-conceived projects. Planning potentially offered the opportunity for more diverse and more efficient use of consumable and non-consumable National Forest resources.

Indeed, in many respects the new era of forest planning harkened back to the much older Forest Service mandate prescribed by the *Use Book* in 1907:

National Forests are made for and owned by the people. They should also be managed by the people. They are made, not to give the officers in charge of them a chance to work out theories, but to give the people who use them, and those who are affected by their use, a chance to work out their own best profit.⁶²

The ordinary, everyday business of the Forest Service in Alaska reflected the ordinary, everyday business of

the people of Alaska. This business, the "issues" of the Seventies, involved wood products, mining, fishing, recreation, wilderness, tourism, land selections continuing from the Statehood Act and ANCSA, and subsistence. The economy of Alaska forest regions evolves around the traditional elements such as timber, fishing, mining and subsistence—coupled with the newer sectors such as petroleum, government employment and the visitor industries. The National Forests, and the administration of the forest resources, strongly affects the vitality of the timber, fishing, mining and visitor industries. Its resources provide subsistence for a large number of Native and non-Native residents. Conversely, Alaska petroleum revenues and the infrastructure (such as transportation, and state fish and wildlife programs) created by state and local governments affect the management of the National Forests. Under the influence of multiple-use, environmental, and wilderness legislation, and Alaska Native land claims settlements, the character and style of National Forest management in Alaska changed decisively after 1970.

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Chapter VI

The "Resource Management" Period, 1971 - 1980

Statehood and ANCSA triggered "the greatest subdivision in history," commented Peggy and Edgar Wayburn in a 1974 *Sierra Club Bulletin*. "Alaska is up for grabs!" Alaska's 370 million acres are being "parcelled out." Millions of acres are being "earmarked for the kind of exploitation that has scarred and destroyed so much of the contiguous 48 states during past decades." And huge acreages are passing into "uncontrolled private ownership." The Wayburn's argued that the laws regulating the distribution failed to recognize "the critical importance of maintaining the integrity of Alaska's magnificent and invaluable ecosystems," or include "effective long-range land-use planning." Many Sierra Club members and other environmentalists opposed the concept of public lands passing into private hands, and once there, favored strong public controls over the uses of private property.¹

Environmentalists included a wide gamut of people, ranging from traditional "Pinchot" conservationists on the one hand, to preservationists on the other. The former generally included traditional Forest Service types who favored the wise use of forest resources within the context of sustained yields. Preservationists included many Americans who simply viewed Alaska as America's storehouse - a safe deposit box with the people of the United States holding the key. Preservationists also included wilderness advocates and ideologues who would leave "management" wholly to nature, to the extent of not harvesting old timber and letting fire burn uncontrolled in the forests. The Sierra Club tended to distrust the management of the National Forests by the Forest Service which they, and many others, regarded as partial to timber, mining and other private or developmental interests. In turn, timber, fishing, mining, and private interests tended to distrust the Forest Service as the agent of "outside" interests, or at least as a competitor for the use of forest resources which competed outside of the market place.

More specifically, spokespersons for the Alaska timber industry such as K.A. Soderberg and Jackie DuRette, mentioned earlier, said they were tired of "decisions made by Americans in those faraway cities" counting for more than our own voices do; and they were "tired of being chased out of one job after another by ruthlessly aggressive, self-righteous and ignorant preservationists," and tired of "taking the blame for evils that exist only in public relations inventions of the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society."² Similarly, Native Alaskans were tired of being dispossessed from lands they perceived to belong to them, and (successfully through ANCSA) pressed their claims to public lands including lands within National Forest Boundaries.

"We are in a period of our history," Regional Forester C.A. Yates told the Alaska Loggers Association at a Ketchikan meeting in October 1975, "where I believe competition for National Forest land ownership and allocation to specific uses is at an all-time high." The outcome of this struggle, he thought, will have a far more profound effect on the timber industry in Alaska than anything yet experienced. Concurrently, journalists discussed the "Battle for the Last Frontier," the "Battle of Alaska," and the "Great Alaskan Land Battle." "Mining and Ecology," wrote one author, were on a "Collision Course." Competitors played for "High Stakes in Alaska."³

Even *American Forests*, the usually staid journal of the American Forestry Association, in an article prepared by a panel of distinguished forestry and wildlife experts, suggested that Alaska "...is a land torn between primitive cultures and modern society."

Conflicts rage between ownerships—private versus state, state versus federal, native versus native... Even federal agencies—National Park Service, U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and Bureau of Land Management—are competing for control of land. Other resources in the state equally are in dispute—natives versus newcomers, state versus federal, environmentalists against developers." And, concluded the authors, "there are no simple solutions," and "there may be no rights or wrongs except in the eyes of each beholder."⁴

Sigurd T. Olson, a wildlife biologist with Region 10, and a member of the Isaac Walton League, strenuously argued that the ANCSA "d-2" lands (or certainly the 41 million acres recommended for inclusion in National Forests) should be placed under Forest Service management "precisely because of the inherent conflicts between preservation and mining, parks and exploitation." The Forest Service, he said, operated under a flexible multiple-use mandate and had long experience in managing areas with diverse and conflicting uses, while other Federal land management agencies gave priority to a single use. But critics suggested that the multiple-use mandate served to promote "multiple-abuse" of Alaska's scenic and wildlife resources. Alaska residents and citizens, while recognizing that "d-2" national interest lands were excluded from state acquisition and authority, nonetheless believed that Alaska "belonged first and foremost to Alaskans, and only secondly to the nation."⁵

It became very clear very early that there could be no "business as usual" in the Alaska Region. During the

1970s the pace of land transfers from the National Forests to the State of Alaska and to Native corporations quickened. Land transfers and boundary work became major components of the work routine. ANCSA and state land transfers shrunk the timber base from which the long-term pulp contract sales were being made, and made planning for timber sales uncertain—just at the time the long-term contracts were truly “coming on line.” State and Native selections were most often made in areas already scheduled for harvest because of the quality of the timber and the access to the land made possible by the prior construction or planning of timber roads. The 23,000-acre Kake Corporation selection on the north end of Kupreanof island, for example, included lands scheduled for harvest on which Forest Service access roads were already constructed. Alaska Pulp Corporation timber commitments were rescheduled for other locations. The relocation of the sales required new expenditures for planning, for environmental impact statements, surveys, and roads. Large sections of the Chugach National Forest, already being developed by the Forest Service for recreational uses, were acquired by the state, including lands adjoining the Alyeska Ski Resort. Lands transferred in the Chatham Area to the Hoonah-Totem Corporation removed prime timber lands from the base for servicing the Alaska Pulp Corporation long-term timber contract.⁶

Timber sales became conditioned by ANCSA and state settlements, as well as by mandates for environmental studies, growing recreational and visitor use, and wildlife and fishery considerations. These conditions began to affect the performance of both the Forest Service and the pulp companies under the contract. There was, in the 1970s, much to do, and relatively few resources and personnel to do with. Dean Weeden remembers when arriving for work as a junior forester on the Petersburg Ranger District in 1958, there were two professionals on the district including the District Ranger, Burton Clark, and himself. The rest of the staff included a boat skipper, and a part-time clerk. The District, he said, harvested some 6.8 million board feet (MMBF) of timber—mostly spruce, in small sales. Neither statehood, nor the long-term contracts affected operations in the Petersburg district at the time, nor were Native selections being made, or environmental studies being conducted.⁷

The timber stands on the forest were over-mature, Weeden said, with hemlock 40% defective and spruce 20% defective. He recalled that one of the motives behind the long-term pulp sales were to utilize this over-ripe, “wasted” timber. Timber sales on the Petersburg

District spiraled between 1958 and 1968 as long-term sales were introduced in the District. In 1964, when Weeden became District Ranger, the District had under contract 1.3 BBF of timber, having added no new staff or personnel. The annual budget was \$200,000. Telephone calls to Regional offices could only be made from the local telephone office located two blocks down the street from the Forest Service offices. The Petersburg Ranger District had one pick-up truck, and one chain saw which it shared with the Sitka Ranger District.⁸ Ranger Districts necessarily operated with considerable autonomy. They also did much with little. But serious problems were developing.

The Forest Service could not adequately manage the long-term timber contracts. State selections absorbed much of the Region’s work force, and the administration of the Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act, and NEPA, demanded not only time and labor, but many specialties and personnel which the Region did not possess. Now, in 1971, ANCSA imposed a new tier of obligations on the Region. In addition, project funds had declined, especially for recreation construction—and just at the time recreational demands were growing—most prominently on the Chugach. Travel costs were sharply higher. New legislation meant more intensive management at higher costs. Conservation interest groups such as the Sierra Club, Save Petersburg Committee, and Alaska Conservation Society stimulated more studies, reports, and public meetings and managerial work at all levels. And all offices were understaffed, because the Alaska Region had always been understaffed, and because now with government spending and inflation seemingly out of control, a new lid had been imposed on federal employment.⁹

Vincent Olson, then Supervisor of the North Tongass National Forest, headed a study and review begun in January 1970 for the Region focusing on the basic question: “How can we accomplish the job ahead under program curtailments of reduced dollars and manpower?” It would not be easy! ¹⁰

The Ranger’s Dilemma

A three-day meeting of Rangers and Regional Staff Officers in Juneau beginning March 16, 1970, revealed the almost desperate plight of the Ranger Districts. The “Ranger’s dilemma” was “rising costs and standards versus decreasing dollars and people.” Not only had there been no increase in personnel since 1960, but personnel and operating budgets were being severely cut in the next fiscal year, while programs and legisla-

tive mandates expanded. Rangers, on whom the burden of basic information gathering and program implementation fell, especially were having to do "more with less."¹¹

The itinerary of the meeting reflected the nature of the "more." The agenda failed to even mention "timber sales," which in past years would have been the primary topic of discussion. Instead, the meeting concerned: the Sierra Club law suit, land uses, multiple-use, boats and boating, landscape management, personnel, and Regional programs. Rangers discussed their personnel deficiencies and their need for technical specialists—never previously assigned to the Districts, and only infrequently to the Forests. Yet Regional and Forest officers offered no relief but instead pointed to the necessity for greater budget cuts, and more programs.¹²

Howard Johnson invited input and responses from all Forest Supervisors, Rangers and staff. He got them. Vincent Olson, for example, provided a detailed analysis of the impact of budget deficiencies on operations. Between 1965 and 1970, he said, the number of Civil Service hours that could be financed per \$1,000 had decreased by 19% for GS-4, 21% for GS-9, 22% for GS-11, and by almost 35% for WG-3 and WS-1 positions. While the Alaska Forests received the same number of personnel dollars in 1970 as in 1965, those dollars paid for a smaller work force. The work load, however, had increased significantly. Operating costs were also much higher. The costs of operating a Boston Whaler boat, widely used by Rangers in managing their districts, rose from \$90 per month in 1965 to \$190 in 1970, and a Ranger boat (for carrying crews) from \$1,000 to \$2,260. He thought some relief might be achieved by better defining priorities. Goals must be realistic. Rangers must do only those jobs which were financed under the budget. Rangers and forest managers must avoid duplication, plan more intensively, and not start new programs at the expense of established ones.¹³ But there were no easy solutions.

During the winter 1970-71, a GSI investigation, examining the organizational and administrative problems of the Region and its insufficient staffing, recommended consolidating certain offices and reducing the reporting levels to two—that is, eliminating either the two intermediate "forest" level organizations, or the Ranger Districts. This would help remedy a technical problem relating to personnel policies. Under Forest Service rules, a supervisor must be a grade level higher than the subordinate. Because of the subdivision of the Tongass National Forest into two parts, the North and South Tongass, and the scarcity of personnel at high

General Schedule positions (such as GS 11 or higher) R10 foresters not infrequently reported to similar grade levels, and those at lower grade levels often performed duties technically assigned to higher grades. Creating three reporting levels, rather than the four existing, would conform more closely to traditional Forest Service practices in the lower 48, where a Ranger reported directly to the Forest Supervisor. The Alaska National Forests, however, contained three or more times the land area than did the southern forests, and, as mentioned earlier, access to that land was three or four times more difficult.

The investigators left to the discretion of the Region which administrative level should be eliminated—the Forest Supervisor's office (later Area), or the Ranger District. But there was really no choice. Because the Region's problems related to a relatively small staff trying to perform the many tasks mandated by the long-term timber contracts, Alaska statehood, ANCSA, MUSY, and NEPA legislation, and inasmuch as there would be no increase in personnel because of budget constraints, it was eminently clear that the Ranger Districts could not be staffed to perform the tasks required.

Moreover, the 1971 prognosis for increased funding and staffing for Region 10, or any other federal agency other than the military, were bleak. Nationwide, full-time Forest Service personnel were being **reduced** by 20%. In a word, the elimination of the Ranger Districts not only appeared to be the only reasonable option, but also offered an opportunity to establish an innovative "matrix" form of organization that "might better fit the new information processing and decision making concepts that the Forest Service was developing" (e.g. NEPA and the Resource Planning Act).¹⁴

Dick Wilson, who served as Area Supervisor on both the Ketchikan and Chatham Areas of the Tongass National Forest in the 1970s, helped devise and implement the matrix organization scheme. Wilson began his forestry career in 1952 in Ketchikan. After a stint as Acting Ranger on the Craig Ranger District he left in 1955 for Ranger assignments in California. Wilson returned to Ketchikan as Deputy Supervisor of the South Tongass and in 1971, became Supervisor of the South Tongass (Ketchikan Area after 1973). He believed that between 1955 and 1970, the Alaska Region had become "timber-industry" oriented. The long-term timber contracts had become the driving force in Alaska National Forest management. Although they existed, land management and recreation plans, Wilson said, were meaningless. Moreover, Regional Forester

Howard Johnson, was publicly anti-wilderness and a proponent of expanded timber sales.¹⁵

In the late 1960s, the U.S. Plywood-Champion long-term timber contract was being pushed by the Forest Service on the same terms as the earlier 1950s contracts. The Forest Service was arguing that the long term timber sales and the further development of the pulp industry were essential to Alaska economic development. But, Wilson explained, the social and economic environment of Alaska had changed since the 1950s. It had changed even more decisively in the lower 48. The public no longer wanted "development." The Forest Service was not tuned in. The Forest Service was "steam-rolling" over public opinion. Professional land management considerations within the Forest Service had taken a back seat to industry interests. Morale within the Forest Service was low.¹⁶

Between 1955 and 1970, during the interval when Wilson was away from Alaska, the Region had become "timber driven" in part because the long-term timber contracts created focus. Richard C. Baker and Ron Welsh, both of whom developed timber sales on the North Tongass (Chatham Area) in the 1960s, recalled the great sense of accomplishment and satisfaction in their work. They were directed to plan timber sales for the Alaska Pulp Company and later for the anticipated U.S. Plywood-Champion contract. They did so, independently and usually within six months to one year (compared to the 3-5 years now required to bring a timber sale to a close). Interviewed in 1994, Baker specifically recalled laying out such sales as on Kuiu, and Saginaw Bay, and the Juneau timber sale planned for the Champion long-term contract. The latter, he said, was one on which he had done particularly good work. But this was the one "shot down." The Sierra Club's court injunction put a muffle on the pride we had. It put a lid on Forest Service operations. The Forest Service became super sensitive. "A wet blanket fell over us. In the 70s we began to realize that our inventory was not appropriate for what we were doing."¹⁷

The long-term timber contracts effectively committed the Region to an annual timber sales volume it could not meet with existing personnel. Timber sales required planning, sale layouts, road design and construction, and monitoring. By default, in the 1960s the contractors, Alaska Pulp Company and Ketchikan Pulp Company, assumed responsibility for the location and design of the cut, and for road design and construction. Forest Service representatives did little more than "sign off" on the plans. During the cut, while foresters monitored the

cut sites, they were very dependent on the contractor. Mike Novy, for example, recalls that about 1975 when he began to work timber sales, the contractor provided transportation to the site, and supplied the contract representative their food and shelter. The forester had to borrow the company radio for communication. Under those circumstances, it was very difficult to challenge a company decision about a proposed cut, or halt a sale once the cut had begun. In a word, the timber company, rather than the Forest Service, exercised control over the timber cut and the long-term contract.¹⁸

Robert Gerdes, who worked as a temporary in the Alaska Region in the 1960s before joining the permanent staff in 1970 as a logging engineer, thought that Region 10 presented its rather radical plan for reorganization in 1970 as something of a "bluff" to the Washington Office. The proposition was: "either give us more people" to do the job we have to do, or we will reorganize. The Washington Office did not scare—so the Region reorganized. He thought that what came to be known as the "Resource Management" era in Region 10, came to be largely because of the financial straits of the Alaska Region. Until 1970, the Forest Service in Alaska functioned in largely a custodial role, and had a custodial-sized staff. But now, with multiple-use, wilderness and NEPA legislation, plus the long-term contracts, and the problem of administering land transfers to the state and the Alaska Natives, the Region was simply overwhelmed. In the early Seventies, Gerdes recalled, personnel in the Region actually declined because of the nation-wide federal budget problems. At the same time operational costs, because of inflation and soaring prices in Alaska, were rising. Timber layouts and road engineering had been transferred to the timber companies because the Forest Service lacked the personnel to do the work.¹⁹

Administrative Reorganization

How could the Region solve the problem of doing more with less? How could the Ranger's dilemma of producing more technical and detailed information without adequate staff support be resolved? While the deliberations proceeded about how to do more with less, Congress imposed yet greater tasks upon the Alaska Forests in the form of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971. With ANCSA the necessity for what would become a substantive administrative reorganization became imperative. Unknown to the Region at the time, the "imperatives" would become much greater as new forest management legislation cleared Congress in the 1970s.

Concurrently, the Region came under greater pressure from environmental and wilderness groups, and Alaska Natives supporting the pending ANCSA legislation. Timber and pulp industries felt threatened. The Vietnam-era Forest Service budget crunch compounded the problems. In the midst of the turmoil and pending reorganization, Regional Forester Howard Johnson retired. Charles A. Yates, formerly Deputy Regional Forester from California, replaced him in February 1971.²⁰

Yates pushed the proposed reorganization, and received strong support throughout the Alaska Region, and prominently from his Supervisors including Barney A. Coster on the Chugach National Forest, Vincent Olson on the North Tongass, and Dick Wilson on the South Tongass. The Chugach National Forest Supervisor memorandum of April 1971, noted that "people pressures for recreational, wilderness and conservationist concepts are increasing. People pressures are demanding input and involvement in nearly all management proposals." But, "It is evident that we are not solving the problems we face. We continue to work with one emergency program after another with no long range development program...to meet the needs of managers or the greatest number of people." The Chugach felt the need to develop "an increased understanding of the interrelationship of the many disciplines of the Forest.Our basic problems of management failure lie in the areas of inadequate advance planning and coordination."²¹ The management failure was driven by the failure of the Region to adjust to changing times. That, in turn, derived in good measure from the very real lack of human and physical resources.

Regional Forester Yates created a team in 1971 to prepare a guide for future management and organization of Region 10. The product was a booklet entitled: "Alaska Tomorrow: Quest for Quality." Subsequently, another team explored alternatives for a proposed reorganization, held discussions and meetings throughout the Region, but achieved no real consensus. The central issue was whether or not to combine Forest and Ranger Districts. The Region then turned to the Washington Office for assistance. With Chief Edward Cliff's approval, the decision was made to eliminate Ranger Districts in R-10. The Washington Office agreed to provide additional funds and personnel for the region, "provided the Region made a concerted effort to help itself... This was a significant commitment, when you consider that nationwide the Forest Service permanent full-time personnel ceilings were being reduced by 20%; and that money and people that R-10 was to receive had to be at the expense of other regions."²²

The Chief Forester approved the plan on August 22, 1972, and the Secretary of Agriculture approved it the following year. The Forest (Area) organization was headed by a Forest Supervisor or Area Manager with five principal assistants called Program Managers: for business, planning, engineering, timber and other resources. Program managers were similar to functional staff or directors except that they had line authority and were expected to help "organize and reorganize around the jobs to be done." Resource Management Assistants reported to the Program Managers and were project managers with specific projects to implement. This better met the interdisciplinary requirements of multiple-use, NEPA, and the Resources Planning Act (1974) then being formulated by the Forest Service.²³

Upon approval of the reorganization by the Chief, Yates acted quickly (even before confirmation at the Secretary level). He divided the North Tongass into two, the Chatham and Stikine Areas. The former North Tongass office was moved from Juneau to Sitka, and became the Chatham Area office. Another Area office was opened in Petersburg (called the Stikine Area, for the Stikine River). South Tongass offices in Ketchikan became Ketchikan Area headquarters. Yates also closed the twelve existing Ranger Districts. Ranger District personnel and budgets went to the respective new Area offices and to the Regional Office. The Forest projected that once the budget proved adequate (projected for 1980-1981) ten Ranger Districts were to be reestablished under the direction of the respective Area Offices which would retain the Resource Management Associate task organization. Physically, the Chugach Forest headquarters and Ranger Districts remained as they were, but the Chugach and the new Forest Areas, with the Region, were organized under Resource Management Assistants. The Region planned to fill the Resource Management groups with technical specialists. Funding for new positions were to come from savings created by the consolidation of Ranger districts into the new Area offices, and from attrition.²⁴

The Chugach and Tongass Forest Area staff, as were the staff in the Regional Office, organized under Resource Management Assistants (assistant regional foresters) with responsibility for business, planning, timber, engineering, and "Other Resources," (including wildlife, recreation, and fisheries). The RMA, usually a forester, operated (in theory) with a team of specialists such as wildlife biologists, engineers, architects, archeologists and others. In practice, staffing and the addition of specialists remained extremely thin. Gerry Schauwecker, who was transferred to Sitka as an

assistant forest engineer in 1970, remembers that there were very few engineers, and only one biologist (Mike Persenovich) on the Chatham. There was also some tension between the engineers and the timber people. Timber traditionally had control and although in theory the Resource Management concept diluted this control, in practice most RMAs reported to the timber staff officer. Harold Donnelly, born in Sitka in 1936, returned there in the '70s as an engineer on the staff with Schauwecker. He remembers that things were changing. The Forest Service **was** assuming responsibility for Alaska Pulp Company timber harvest cuts and road design. The RMA system did work, he said.²⁵ Those who lived through the RMA period in Alaska had different opinions of its effectiveness.

During the next few years the Region experienced a turn-over in personnel. Many old-timers retired or moved to new jobs. Highly skilled newcomers, from new and diverse disciplines, came to the region. Technical knowledge replaced experience. Training occupied an increasing portion of staff time. Preparation of reports, evaluations and analyses required under NEPA and ANCSA, court actions and land selections occupied more and more staff time. While there was some relief, the reorganization itself caused confusion and problems, and in the short term there was little relief. Things got worse, much worse, before they got better.

Forest Service Chief John McGuire sent an urgent message to Regional headquarters in January 1973, warning that spending levels must be held to an absolute minimum. He described specific reductions in travel budgets, land and water conservation funds, and a \$5 million (25%) cut in the State-Federal Cooperative fire control program. There should be no new awards of contracts, or orders placed for supplies relating to forest roads and trails, land management and flood construction, or wildlife and fisheries improvements. Expenditures for training, transfer of stations, and ADP were put on hold until further advised. Regions could not approve any additional cooperative fire control agreements and were to restrict travel and continue the freeze on employment.²⁶ The new economies created difficulties everywhere, and particularly in the Alaska Region struggling with understaffed offices and a burgeoning workload.

D.L. Finney, Resource Manager for Ketchikan Pulp Company, had become exasperated with the apparent inability of the Forest Service to perform its obligations under the long-term contract. "During the first twenty years of operation," he wrote in 1974 to Dick Wilson, Supervisor for the Ketchikan Area, "we have willingly

accepted the responsibility of the road engineering and timber layout."

We recognize you are presently understaffed to accomplish even a normal independent sales program and certainly encourage your use of all available manpower to alleviate that problem. Whether these shortages are due to poor planning on your part or to circumstances you could not foresee is academic at this time. The fact remains you have indicated to us that, for the next several years, you could not accomplish a healthy sales program and do the necessary engineering layout work on the long term sale.²⁷

Finney complained that the multiple-discipline approach now makes it virtually impossible for Ketchikan Pulp Company engineers to properly evaluate all of the necessary requirements in their on-the-ground performance of the guidelines. "We now find ourselves in the position of not being able to be correct" no matter what we do and can see no solution other than the Forest Service assuming their responsibility under Section 4 of the contract and accomplishing this work."²⁸

The pulp company was not alone in its realization that it could not be correct, no matter what it did. That increasingly defined the plight of the Forest Service. In June 1973, the Alaska Conservation Society approved a resolution "severely criticizing management of National Forests in Alaska. ...Not only are the timber harvest methods themselves extremely destructive to the environment, but the public is being cheated out of literally millions of dollars because of antiquated methods." Because the pulp contracts specified that prices for timber be based on lumber scales rather than pulp scales, pulp mills were estimated to be paying only 60-70% of the price they should be paying. Moreover, harvest practices were wasteful. Logs from rafts were lost each year, drifted free, and threatened navigation. Sludge destroyed marine habitat, and the bark, particularly of the hemlock, the society charged, was "extremely poisonous to fish and other marine life."²⁹

The Region did get some relief in 1973-74. New staff were added, mostly engineers, and most of these from Region 4 which was downsizing. The new Resource Management structures also began to function more smoothly. But the horizontal and interdisciplinary lines of communication were new and difficult to learn to use. The new organization stressed interdependence and integration, concepts relatively new to Forest Service management traditions. Perhaps most critically, the RMA organization failed to provide adequately for the

Ranger's traditional role of field coordination, project implementation, and community relations.³⁰

Bob Gerdes thought that the RMA system was very effective, and particularly useful for multiple-resource planning. It created the structure for interdisciplinary team work. Dick Estelle, a landscape architect, joined the Stikine Area staff in 1973 as one of the Tongass's first resource specialists. At that time, Estelle said, there were three Resource Management Assistants on the Stikine, one for timber, one for engineering and one for Other Resources (later designated Recreation, Lands and Wilderness).³¹

Estelle, a native of Alaska, born in the Matanuska Colony, recalled that while the RMA organization did provide a more diverse and flexible work group, and resulted in excellent inventory development and planning, the net product was that no-one had real responsibility for implementing programs. No-one really had authority. Responsibility was fragmented.³²

The RMA system proved superior in planning and development work, but weak in implementation and field work. The problem of coordination and field supervision was somewhat alleviated between 1975 and 1976 when the Forests began to use Project Leaders, assigned to Resource Management teams, to implement team decisions and to provide field supervision. Also, in 1976, Wildlife was given independent Program Manager status, reporting with timber and engineering directly to the Area or Forest Supervisor.³³

Jim Rhoades, an almost-native Alaskan who was born in the lower 48 but spent his youth in Wrangell, Alaska, joined the Ketchikan Area in 1974 as a construction engineer, and in 1977 headed the Project Engineering Team. Rhoades appreciated the flexibility of the RMA structure. But each team, he said, tended to become very autonomous. Specialists within the teams sometimes exercised unwonted power, and derailed the work of the entire team, with the result that both the specialist and the team lost credibility.³⁴ To be sure, the inflow of non-traditional specialists into the ranks created tensions in the R10 organization—and throughout the Forest Service.

Gerry Clark, the second archeologist assigned to the Region, remembers the tensions. When he joined the Regional Office in August 1975, he was assigned to the "Resource Unit" headed by Assistant Regional Forester Bob Tracy. His immediate supervisor was Ramon Clark, the Director of Recreation. The Resource Unit included representatives (specialists) from recreation,

lands and minerals, wildlife and fisheries, and timber. "We had at least one specialist for most of the specialties, that is we had an archeologist, a soil scientist, a hydrologist, a landscape architect, a biologist, ...and several timber specialties." In the late Seventies, Gerry Clark recalls, there was an effort to get some of the specialists into the field through the mechanism of the project groups. He also remembers that archeologists were specifically excluded. "Why," he asked? "Because archeology isn't identified as an issue," he was told.³⁵

The RMA system provided a critical need within the Alaska Region for interdisciplinary communications and planning, and to an extent it helped husband the meager resource of the Region. The reorganization also enabled the Region to gain control over the long-term timber contract commitments. But in that the organization was distinctly counter to Forest Service practices and traditions, and was unique to R10, the Alaska Region had great difficulty sustaining the organization. People were simply reluctant to come to Alaska because the organization did not match or support the usual promotional and career ladder requirements.³⁶

Many who did come, left quickly. Living conditions on the "last frontier" were difficult. Housing in Juneau, Sitka, Petersburg, and Ketchikan was scarce and expensive. A room in Juneau cost \$400 a month, then considered outrageous. A small home (c. 1,200 square foot) sold for \$50,000, and the banks would not lend money without a \$20,000 down payment, which few, if any foresters had. In places such as Petersburg, housing simply did not exist at any price. One forester remembers spending the first few nights in R-10 in his car with his family. Mike Novy moved his family into a trailer in Juneau. Living conditions and work schedules were "very hard on marriages." Foresters flew out to their timber sales on Monday and returned home on Friday (or traveled by boat for even longer work periods). Isolation and hardships contributed to a high rate of alcoholism in the Region—and low employee retention.³⁷

While living conditions improved markedly over time, life in the Alaska Region, differs considerably from that in other Regions of the USDA Forest Service. Housing remains scarce and expensive. Food is expensive. The per diem rate (travel expense rate) for Juneau in 1994 was \$170 per day. Forest Service employees receive an extra Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) of 25% as an incentive and morale booster. Transportation and logistics are difficult. Distances to work locations are

great. Visits to family in the lower 48 are infrequent. Weather is incontinent. The Tongass is a rain forest, with annual precipitations of 100 to 160 inches. Winters can be severe, both on the Tongass and the Chugach, with below zero temperatures common. In the summer the days average 18-20 hours of light, with corresponding darkness in the winter. Social life, particularly in the smaller communities, is elusive. The Region traditionally encouraged training assignments and extended travel to the lower 48 (particularly for unmarried personnel).³⁸ Despite these differences, or perhaps because of them, the Alaska Region attracts a very dedicated and perhaps different personnel. Alaska, is for them "a real life adventure." Certainly, the RMA era proved to be a "real life adventure."

John Sandor: Re-energizing the RMA

Times were changing and the changes most often came from outside the Forest Service. The environmental movement became a full-blown affair by the early Seventies. Alaska citizens became increasingly polarized over developmental versus preservation issues. Relations between the State and the Forest Service became somewhat strained with the election of Governor Jay S. Hammond (1974-1982), who was much less excited about the long-term timber contracts and economic development than his predecessor, Walter J. Hickel, who resigned to accept the position of Secretary of Interior under President Richard M. Nixon. The pending long-term timber contract with Champion Paper was cancelled following almost six years of litigation. Public disaffection over the remaining two long-term timber contracts rose. Congress, once highly supportive of timber harvests on the National Forests under sustained yield guidelines, now vacillated. Into this milieu, John Sandor, then a Deputy Regional Forester in Wisconsin, stepped in as the replacement for Charles Yates, who retired.

Sandor wanted both to maintain and enlarge the multidisciplinary skills in the Region's work force, and to work in partnership with the State of Alaska. The Region made a concerted effort to inject new vitality into the Resource Management system. Dick Wilson led in developing a stronger personnel orientation process—encapsulated in a 1977 personnel manual entitled *Orientation to the Forest Organizations of Region 10*.

The Organization

Objective II: Establish a dynamic organization which will meet the changing environmental requirements and human needs of our society.

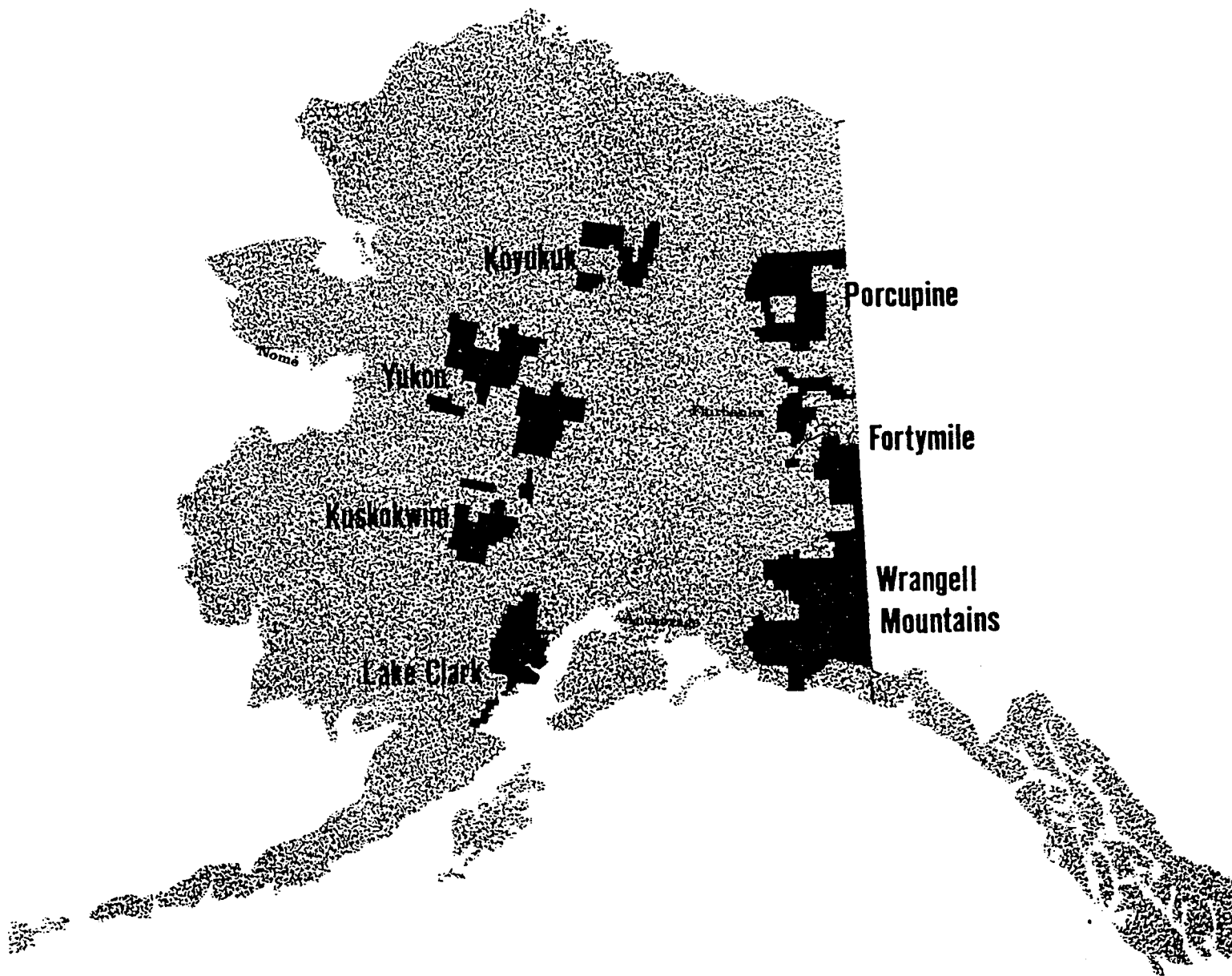
Our organization must be dynamic to effectively accomplish objective. It must be flexible and responsive to meet the changing needs and priorities of a socio-political environment. This requires: aggressive leadership; clear definition and understanding of objectives and goals; logical grouping of work and responsibility; and delegation of authority which will permit full accomplishment of work and redemption of responsibility. There must be a good system of position management for best use of skills and competence. The organization must be designed to : permit maximum utilization of individual skills; provide adequate career growth; and develop individual skills through training and variety of work assignments.

The Region assigned Project Leaders to the Resource Management Teams to implement decisions and to provide field supervision. Fish and Wildlife, and Watershed were given full Resource Management Assistant status, reporting with timber and engineering directly to the Area Supervisor.³⁹

And happily, Sandor's move to the Regional Forester's chair coincided with improved Congressional funding for the Forest Service, and after long years of drought, higher personnel budgets for the Alaska Region. Many new, young, skilled specialists, including biologists, engineers, landscape architects, archeologists, ecologists, and wildlife and recreation staff joined the ranks of the Alaska Region. Within half-a-dozen years the complexion of the Forest Service changed from forester (timber) dominated to "other" dominated. Men and women from diverse backgrounds and with special skills came to the Region—to stay. Abigail (Gail) B. Kimbell, for example, named RMA at Kodiak on the Chugach National Forest, joined the Region as its first professional female forester.

Gail Kimbell remembers the RMA organization as chaotic. There was no relationship between responsibility, accountability, and authority. The teams lacked coordination, and individuals on the teams could at times be excessively independent. The latter, she thought, probably reflected the general frontier mentality of the community. She vividly recalled being threatened at the point of a gun by a resident lacking the necessary permit to build on Forest Service lands. There were, she said, "moments of sheer terror." Kimbell left Alaska in 1981 for service in the lower 48, but returned in December 1991 to assume duties as Supervisor of the Stikine Area of the Tongass National Forest.⁴⁰

Plate IX. Proposed New National Forests for Alaska



During her ten year absence marked changes occurred in the composition of the Region's work force, and in its organization. Despite the organizational problems encountered during the Resource Management era, there were significant accomplishments in the Region. Timber sales were sustained at approximately 550 million board feet (MMBF) throughout the 1970s, most of that on the Tongass, which usually produced 500 MMBF, while the Chugach produced the remainder. The Perenosa timber sale on Afognak Island produced most of the Chugach annual harvest at approximately 46 MMBF. John Sandor estimated that timber sales generated almost \$65 million in annual wages and salaries for the Alaska economy.⁴¹ Although conveyances of Forest Service lands to the State and to Native corporations proceeded throughout the decade of the Seventies, the Forest Service anticipated more than recouping its lost lands through the creation of new National Forests in Alaska.

New National Forests for Alaska

The reorganization under the RMA system allowed the Region to direct more and more of its personnel and energies to the land transfers mandated by Alaska Statehood, and by ANCSA. Statehood settlements, native settlements, and the ANCSA provision for d-2 lands, mentioned in Chapter IV, became entangled and interrelated issues. In September 1972, the Secretary of the Interior, under provisions of the Act, withdrew 78.4 million acres of land for federal use, called "Four Systems" lands. In addition, another 44.6 million acres of "General Interest" lands were also withdrawn by the secretary.

Study teams from the National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the Forest Service examined 123 million acres of Alaska land, since the Act required all selected lands to be submitted as legislative proposals to the Congress by December 18, 1973. After that, Congress would have five years to act. Proposed legislation (S. 2917 of the 93rd Congress, 2nd Session) was then drafted to reclassify federal lands in Alaska. According to the bill, lands to be selected for these proposed classifications were to have "significant public or national interest," and to contain diverse resources to provide "goods, services, and amenities."

The Alaska Forest Service, represented by a five-person Alaska Planning Team headed by Barney (Bernard A.) Coster, and including Vernon W. Clapp, Hatch Graham, Sigurd T. Olsen, and Kenneth R. Rikard,

in July 1972, recommended seven new National Forests and another 3.2 million acres to be added to the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. The proposed new National Forests were to be the Wrangell Mountains National Forest, Fortymile National Forest, Porcupine National Forest, Koyukuk National Forest, Yukon National Forest, Kuskokwim National Forest, and Lake Clark National Forest. The basic characteristics of the Forest Service-sponsored proposal for **New National Forests** for Alaska follows:

New National Forests For Alaska, An Overview Study Team Findings

The Forest Service Study Team finished its analysis and recommended 39.3 million acres in seven areas considered suitable for new units in the National Forest System and 3.2 million acres for additions to the present Tongass and Chugach National Forests. These areas and their acreages are as follows:

Table VI.1
Areas Recommended for New National Forests

Unit	Type of Withdrawal (PL 92-203)			Total*
	Public Interest Lands	Conservation System Lands	Pipeline Corridor	
Wrangell Mountains National Forest	3.4	8.0		11.4
Fortymile National Forest	3.1	1.4		4.5
Porcupine National Forest	0.4	5.1		5.5
Koyukuk National Forest	0.9	0.9	0.9	2.7
Yukon National Forest	3.4	4.0		7.4
Kuskokwim National Forest	3.0			3.0
Lake Clark National Forest	0.4	3.2		3.6
Tongass/Chugach NF Extensions	1.1	2.1		3.2
	15.7	24.7	0.9	41.3

*Million acres

The proposed New National Forests were to be located approximately as illustrated in Plate IX.

The study team stressed the need for multiple-use management in each of the areas proposed as a National Forest. The Forest Service issued a revised report in 1973, adjusting proposed National Forest boundaries (very slightly) and correcting the total

acreage proposed to 42.5 million acres, rather than the 41.3 total shown on the original report. A "Situation Report" was submitted to regional foresters and station directors on February 11, 1974.⁴²

The report was discussed through numerous meetings following its release. In addition, ten hearings were conducted, including four in the "lower forty-eight" states.⁴³ The proposed National Forests had distinctive characteristics as described in the Table VI.2.

The proposed seven new National Forests for Alaska were independently supported and championed by the Forest Service.⁴⁴ Forest Service Study Team recommendations were, however, in conflict with those developed by a general overview committee, the Land Use Planning Commission (or Alaska Planning Group), which reported directly to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior. The Planning Group recommended the creation of only three new National Forests, the Porcupine National Forest, the Wrangell Mountains National Forest, and a combined Yukon-Kuskokwim National Forest. Only 18.8 million acres of the Forest Service's original recommendation of 42 million acres were finally recommended by the Secretary, including a 591,000-acre addition to the Chugach National Forest.⁴⁵

The proposed Chugach National Forest addition included areas in College Fiord and the Nellie Juan area (173,700 acres of land suitable for wilderness), which would consolidate "Prince William Sound in the Gulf of Alaska, into one jurisdiction."⁴⁶ College Fiord had some commercial timber, with operable stands in the range of from 20 to 30 thousand board feet per acre. It was an attractive area for recreation, the major big game species were mountain goat and black bear, containing some precious metals, and (as understood at the time) little or nothing of archeological or historical value. Nellie Juan had small stands of timber and limited wildlife populations. About 50 percent of the area was wilderness. The proposed area had some precious metals but no determined archeological or historical value.⁴⁷

Needless to say, these proposals were, indeed, controversial. The Wilderness Society termed the reports "impressive in size," but added: "many are seriously deficient in content because critical, viable alternatives are not discussed and were apparently not considered in the decisions leading to the recommendations."⁴⁸

Additionally, the Society attacked the National Forest proposal for the Wrangell Mountains area.⁴⁹ Even the Saguaro Ecology Club of Scottsdale, Arizona, and the Arizona Branch of Friends of the Earth questioned the

need for the proposed additions to the Chugach National Forest.⁵⁰

On January 30, 1974, new legislation, S. 2917, would "provide for the addition of certain lands in the State of Alaska, the National Park, National Wildlife Refuge, National Forest, and the Wild and Scenic Rivers Systems, and for other purposes." Title III of the act dealt with the National Forest System and recommended the three proposed National Forests and the additions to the Chugach National Forest plus four wild and scenic rivers within Alaska National Forests.⁵¹

In 1975, amendments to ANCSA allowed the Native regional corporation for southeast Alaska, Sealaska, to select its 200,000-acre land entitlements under sec. 14(h)(8) of ANCSA from lands of the Tongass National Forest. A 1976 amendment (P. L. 94-204), provided for a "negotiated land exchange involving Cook Inlet Region, Inc., the State of Alaska, and the federal government." Without the special amendment, the coastal villages of the Cook Inlet region would have had to make their selections from submerged lands, or from "mountaintops and glaciers."⁵² Nevertheless, by the close of the year, 1976, there had been no action by Congress on the d-2 recommendations submitted by the Secretary of the Interior.

The following year, 1977, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (chaired by Congressman John Seiberling) began hearings on House Resolution 39 regarding the ANCSA d-2 lands. The hearings evoked a rising crescendo of public condemnation of the Forest Service. The Alaska Region, recalled Mike Novy, "was getting slam dunked" about the "rape and pillage of the Tongass National Forest." Novy, who grew up literally in the shadow of Aldo Leopold (an acquaintance of his grandfather), and who completed an "Aldo Leopold degree" combining forest science with a minor in wildlife management, remembered with some emotion that even his mother worried that he and the Forest Service might be "raping the forests."⁵³ These were traumatic times for Novy, and for the Forest Service.

During the hearings, Richard Folta, a second-generation Alaskan and counsel for the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, Inc., plead:

I have spent practically my entire lifetime in southeast Alaska. Fishing for salmon and steelhead trout, hunting the brown bear and Sitka deer, mountain climbing, and kayaking have been my avocations. Over the years I have seen the character of much of southeast Alaska rain forest change

TABLE VI.2

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPOSED NEW NATIONAL FORESTS

Wrangell Mountains

--A spectacular country of high rugged peaks, glaciers, and broad glaciated valleys in South Central Alaska. Much of it is highly mineralized and sport hunting for Dall Sheep brings trophy hunters from many other states. The inherent conflicts between mineral development and wilderness, sport hunting and nonconsumptive wildlife management, as well as the possibility of optimizing the output potential of the lesser resources, make management under National Forest multiple use principles highly desirable. This is an area of national significance for its multiple resources including wilderness.

Fortymile

--A mountainous highlands astraddle the Yukon on the north and encompassing the Charley River and the Fortymile River drainages adjacent to Canada. Portions of the area are potential mineral producers, the rivers are excellent canoeing and rafting waters, road access provides great opportunities for tourism and recreation. The Steese - Fortymile caribou herd ranges through the area. Scenic, wildlife, recreation, minerals and other lesser values highlight its national importance for multiple use management in the National Forest System.

Porcupine

--An area of plateaus and flats lying east of the famed Yukon Flats waterfowl breeding areas. Though overall waterfowl densities are less, the area contains abundant wetlands and wildlife values, timber of commercial size and quantity, water-oriented recreation as well as oil and gas potential. The area is nationally important for many of its resources and is highly suited for management by the multiple use philosophy under the National Forest System.

Koyukuk

--A far northern area of scenery, wildlife and future road-accessible recreation. The Koyukuk borders the proposed Gates to the Arctic National Park, encompasses a portion of the oil pipeline corridor and provides complementary management opportunities for sport hunting, roadside scenic management and protection, locally available houselogs and fuelwood and environmentally sensitive resource use and development. Coupled with the National Park, a National Forest here would create an appropriate mix of resource management options of national significance.

Yukon

--Astride major rivers, at the confluence of the Yukon and Koyukuk, the Yukon presents a combination of resources necessary for local economic development as well as conflicts best resolved by judicious management. National values in water and watershed, wetlands recreation and wild and scenic rivers as well as regionally important timber, wildlife and other values recommend National Forest System classification.

Kuskokwim

--An area needed for stability and development of a viable economic base for Natives of Alaska while protecting the environment. Containing a mix of resources--watershed, wildlife, some timber--the Kuskokwim must help support the five Native Villages in the vicinity as well as serve as a management model for environmental protection. The future road system will place the Kuskokwim at the crossroads of Alaska and provide a nationally important center for recreation and tourism in the State.

Lake Clark

--An area of contrasting beauty bordering Cook Inlet in South Central Alaska. With spectacular high glacier country, large lakes, beautiful rivers and active volcanoes, it seems obviously well-suited for retention in a national conservation system. The area's long history of use, with oil wells dating to the late 1800's, fishing and hunting, timber cutting, prospecting and mining from rich deposits of iron and copper ore makes National Forest designation seem most beneficial to provide for wise use of the area.

rapidly from rich productive wildlife and fisheries habitat to clearcut wasteland. I have come here today to make a plea for the protection of the wilderness resources in what is probably the nation's most spectacular National Forest.⁵⁴

Folta listed the virtues and character of the Tongass. 1)"80% of Southeast Alaska is the Tongass National Forest, and 80% of that is wilderness," he said. 2)Of the 45,200 miles of federally owned shoreline, 41,300 are in Alaska, and 30,000 of that is in Southeast Alaska. 3)From 1967 to 1973, about four-fifths of the total U.S. salmon harvest was landed in Alaska. Folta recited more, much more of the unique qualities of the Tongass. He reminded listeners of John Muir's eulogy of Alaska as being a place "hopelessly beyond description."⁵⁵

Folta testified that the Forest Service failed to establish any wilderness under the 1964 Wilderness Act, and completed no inventory of roadless areas under the 1972 RARE II program. Rather, he said disdainfully, the Forest Service submitted an inventory of only roaded areas. Folta knew full well there were virtually no roads anywhere in the Tongass, and but for the few roaded areas near towns and settlement, and roads built for timber harvest, the rest was roadless. He observed further that while the Forest Service designated wilderness study areas in 1972, they were simply "token wilderness areas that could be eliminated without affecting the timber supply." He cited the Region's 1964 Multiple-Use Guide as advising that 95% of Southeastern Alaska's forest lands be cut, because they were occupied by overmature stands of hemlock, spruce and cedar. Silviculturally, the report suggested, "these decadent stands should be removed by clear cutting methods as soon as possible to make way for new stands of fast growing timber." He charged that the Forest Service was currently planning timber sales and road construction in prime potential wilderness areas. Irreplaceable wilderness resources on the Tongass are being threatened by "indiscriminate logging" and "single use planning."⁵⁶ For environmentalists and many of the general public these were damning indictments. There were more.

John Borbridge, President of Sealaska Corporation, advised Congress to delay classifying any new lands in Alaska until settlement of Native land claims under ANCSA were complete. Natives, he said, are "on the threshold of being done in by delay in the conveyance of our lands." Delays caused by the "minions of bureaucracy" and their "excessive concern with minutia" are threatening the "grand design" of the Settlement Act.⁵⁷

Although not a participant in the hearings, Frank Seymour, who had been hired in 1976 as business manager of the (Native) Cape Fox Corporation, gave credibility to Borbridge's observations when interviewed much later, in 1994. The problem, Seymour said, was that while most Native corporations had completed their land selections, the actual conveyances of the lands were locked over issues of easements. Federal agencies, and prominently Fish and Wildlife, he said, insisted on easements. The contentions led to lawsuits and a freeze on conveyances. Cape Fox Corporation spent almost \$700,000 of its \$1.1 million ANCSA settlement in legal fees, and only narrowly averted bankruptcy by being the first Native corporation to receive its land and complete a timber sale. The prime consideration in the acquisition of Native lands from the Forest Service, Seymour added, was the value of the timber on the land.⁵⁸

The very negative content of the hearings prompted the Forest Service to re-examine its position in Alaska. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture M. Rupert Cutler announced a series of new "Alaska Initiatives" designed to strengthen forestry programs in Alaska. The Forest Service directed the Alaska Region to complete alternative studies for wilderness, wilderness study, special management areas, and areas open to use for other than wilderness. All roadless areas in the Tongass where environmental statements had not been completed were to be maintained in roadless status until the reviews were completed. That action effectually froze timber sales on thirty-two of the forty-five areas identified by the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council as being wilderness study areas vulnerable to timber harvest.⁵⁹

Cutler also promised Forest Service cooperation with Native interests, the State of Alaska, and the Alaska Congressional delegation in developing a list of alternatives for the management of National Forest lands on Admiralty Island. Admiralty Island timber harvests had become a critical issue during consideration of the U.S. Plywood-Champion long-term contract in the late 1960s. Most significantly, in relation to the work of the Alaska Forest Service, Cutler promised the long-sought **increases in funding and manpower** to "strengthen on-the-ground management and resource planning." He specified that new personnel would include "landscape architects, soil scientists, fish and wildlife biologists, and others to monitor timber sales and insure protection of other resources." Youth employment opportunities, cooperative forestry programs, and research were to be expanded in the Alaska Region.⁶⁰ This was, for the Region, a welcome commitment. It

marked the beginning of the end of the "Ranger's dilemma."

In July 1977, John Sandor appeared before the Subcommittee on General Oversight and Alaska Lands, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. He explained that prior to the early 1970s, "the Forest Service saw itself as having a strong role in assisting economic development in southeast Alaska." The Forest Service "successfully took the leadership to establish the pulp industry in Alaska." The long-term timber contracts were an important component in establishing the mills. Sandor characterized the Tongass as primarily old-growth forest which adds little to its net volume each growing season. He discussed clear-cutting, and explained that over a 100-year period current planning anticipated harvest on about 2.8 million acres of the Tongass (roughly 12%), and 200,000 acres of the Chugach National Forest. Land selections by state and Native interests directly affected planning for timber sales, and created great uncertainty in the management of the National Forests. The fact that there were sixty-six different proposals for wilderness study or other classifications for Alaska lands pending in Congress also added to the uncertainty and difficulties of land management. If H.R. 39 passed Congress, Sandor said, forty-percent of the National Forest lands in Alaska would pass into the National Wilderness Preservation System, with greater or lesser impact upon logging, employment, mining, exports, and the general economy of Alaska.⁶¹

In August, 1977, a House Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment (of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee) scheduled discussions and formal hearings in Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau, Alaska on the prospect of including d-2 lands that might be classified as National Wildlife Refuges. Chairman Robert L. Leggett described the issues regarding the disposition of Alaska lands as "the single most important environmental issue considered during the 95th Congress:"

We have been charged with establishing a rational land use planning program for Federal lands in Alaska. While the issues involved concern the nation as a whole, firsthand knowledge and the views of Alaska's citizens are vital to an understanding of the issues involved.⁶²

The House of Representatives approved H.R. 39 in May 1978, but no action was taken in the Senate.

By late 1978, Congress had yet to take action on the

recommendations regarding the disposition of federal lands under ANCSA d-2 classification, despite an ANCSA legislative deadline of December 18, 1978. In order to prevent a reversion of the 123 million acres of land being considered for reclassification to the public domain and to discourage further conflicts and litigation relating to state and Native land selections, Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus withdrew 110 million acres of Alaska lands from the public domain, and then at the request of Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland (who wanted to protect potential National Forest land acquisitions), an additional 11.2 million acres.⁶³

In separate, but related action under the authority of the Antiquities Act of 1906, President Jimmy Carter designated seventeen National Monuments from the Alaska d-2 and other Federal lands, comprising a total of about 56 million acres, and including 3.2 million acres of the existing Tongass National Forest. The Admiralty Island National Monument included most (1.1 million acres) of Admiralty Island, excluding the Mansfield Peninsula. The Misty Fiords National Monument covered 2.28 million acres of the south Tongass, where, not coincidentally, U.S. Borax and Chemical Company held claims and special use permits for developing potential molybdenum mines. On the same day that President Carter created the National Monuments, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture M. Rupert Cutler withdrew the special use permit granted U.S. Borax in December 1977 to build an 11.5-mile road into the Misty Fiords area to begin bulk sampling of molybdenum ores. The Forest Service recognized the mineral rights granted U.S. Borax, but not the right to access those minerals.⁶⁴ These actions removed the lands affected from consideration as potential National Forests, removed the existing 3.2 million acres of the Tongass National Forest from selection by State or Native interest and from timber harvest or multiple-use allocation, and reduced the economic viability of developing the molybdenum reserves in the southern Tongass.

Congress then completed its part of the work on Alaska lands in 1980. A substitute H.R. 39 was sent to the Senate in May 1979. The Senate proposed a substitute in August, 1980. The House accepted the Senate bill in November, and President Carter signed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act on December 2, 1980.

ANILCA: New Wilderness and a New Regimen for Forest Management

ANILCA redesignated 5.3 million acres of the Tongass

National Forest as wilderness, added 1.9 million acres to the Chugach National Forest (Nellie Juan, College Fjord, Copper/Rude River and Controller Bay), and 1.45 million acres to the Tongass National Forest including Kates Needle, the Juneau Icefield, and the Brabazon Range. It transferred approximately 296,000 acres on Afognak Island to Native Corporations, the State, and the Fish and Wildlife Service, and 242,000 acres of the Chugach to the Chugach Native Corporation. The Act expanded State and Private Forestry cooperative programs in Alaska, directed the completion of a Chugach regional study, encouraged research (particularly as it related to timber management and environmental research), provided a supplement for road construction for timber sales, and regulated subsistence uses on National Forest and other Federal lands.

Table VI.3
The New Wilderness Areas of the Tongass

<u>Wilderness</u>	<u>Acres</u>
Admiralty Island National Monument Wilderness	900,000
Coronation Island Wilderness	19,122
Endicott River Wilderness	94,000
Maurelle Islands Wilderness	4,424
Misty Fiords National Monument Wilderness	2,136,000
Petersburg Creek-Duncan Salt Chuck Wilderness	50,000
Russell Fjord Wilderness	307,000
South Baranof Wilderness	314,000
South Prince of Wales Wilderness	97,000
Stikine-LeConte Wilderness	443,000
Tebenkof Bay Wilderness	65,000
Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness	656,000
Warren Island Wilderness	11,353
West Chichagof-Yakobi Wilderness	<u>265,000</u>
TOTAL ACREAGE	5,361,899*

[*Final acreages varied due upon completion of boundary maps and with the selection of State and Native selections. Source: *Alaska Lands Act*, USDA Forest Service, Alaska Region, Report Number 131, pp. 1-6.]

If it had not been clear before, it now became eminently clear that there would be **no new National Forests for Alaska**. Moreover, the land base available on the Tongass National Forest for multiple uses, including timber harvest, had now been reduced by approximately one-third. Options for the future construction of hydroelectric plants, a highway interconnecting the Tongass region with southwestern Canada and southcentral Alaska, and for the development of mineral deposits in the Misty Fiords area were now severely constrained if not eliminated. State and Native land selections were further eroding the land base available to fulfill obligations under the long-term timber con-

tracts. Nevertheless, the Alaska Region believed that passage of ANILCA finally removed the uncertainties and confusions resulting from Statehood, ANCSA, and environmental litigation. An informational memorandum prepared by the Alaska Region described ANILCA as "the final stage of a major land allocation process which began in Alaska with the Statehood Act of 1959 and continued with the Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA)."⁶⁵ Rather than a final stage, ANILCA proved to be yet one of many episodes in the Alaska Native claims settlement processes. There would be more.

For the moment, however, ANILCA did seem to offer a resolution for many of the problems confronting the Alaska Region. ANILCA and the political processes associated with its passage did facilitate the land transfers and settlements provided for by ANCSA.

Land Transfers to State and Native Interests, 1970 - 1980

As mentioned in Chapter IV, selections of the allowable 400,000 acres of land from the Chugach and Tongass National Forests by the State of Alaska proceeded very slowly in the 1960s, while the State went through the throes of organizing itself. The pace quickened after 1970. ANCSA, in fact, created a competitor for the State in the acquisition of National Forest lands. Not all lands selected by the State, or by Native Corporations, had to be approved for transfer by the Forest Service, which wanted to preserve the integrity of its boundaries, and access to its properties through easements or ownership configurations, as well as to protect the perceived public interests in the National Forests. But, when either the State or Native Corporations identified "selected" lands, those lands, whether finally conveyed or not, no longer were open to public uses or to timber harvest. Thus the available timber base, and multiple-use base of National Forest lands were both being depleted, but more acutely for the management processes, were in a constant state of flux. Much of the time the Forest Service simply could not know what resources it could use or manage. It lost control of its own forest resources. In an introverted way, Wilderness and Monument designations helped stabilize the situation by removing some of the uncertainties.

By 1977, when ANILCA was being so contested in Congress, State and Native competition for National Forest lands came to a head. In that year the State selected nearly 105,000 acres of land within the Chugach National Forest, most of that located within Prince William Sound. The Chugach Natives, Inc.

asked the State to refrain from making these selections in order to give the Natives the opportunity to achieve a "fair and just" land settlement under ANCSA. The State declined to refrain from exercising its Statehood rights. The Natives turned to Congress. After very extended and intense negotiations the State joined the Natives in support of an ANILCA settlement.⁶⁶ The results of that settlement can be visualized on the following table which reflects the changing boundaries of the Chugach National Forest since its creation in 1915, through ANILCA in 1980.

Table VI.4
Boundary Changes: Chugach National Forest -
1915 to 1981

1915		11,360,000 acres	
1915	elimination	5,750,000 acres	(1,730,000 Moose Range/FWS) (508,400 College Fiord/BLM) (1,069,280 Copper River/BLM) (273,800 Resurrection/BLM) (1,855,000 Cook Inlet/BLM)*
		1,315 acres	City of Anchorage
1919	elimination	150,000 acres	Alaska Railroad and Fort Richardson
1925	elimination	622,000 acres	Kenai Fiords National Park
1952	elimination	76,000 acres	Bird Creek/Indian Creek
1970-80	elimination	86,000 acres	Statehood Act - Selections
1978-80	elimination	311,480 acres	ANILCA - Native corporations
1980	elimination	280,000 acres	ANILCA - Afognak Island
1980	elimination	50,000 acres	Kodiak National Wildlife Refuge/NPS
1980	elimination	97,000 acres	Kenai National Wildlife Refuge/NPS
1980	addition	1,990,078 acres	ANILCA - Copper River - College Fiord

[Source: Federal Records Center - Seattle, 95-85-0164.]

Until 1978, the first and only conveyance of National Forest land to a Native Corporation was of 1.01 acres to the Yak-Tat Kwaan, Inc. The Cape Fox Corporation received title to 3,763 acres in 1978, and beginning in 1979 and over a period of approximately five years, most of the Native Corporation entitlements to National Forest lands were conveyed. Those conveyances, through 1985, are summarized below:

Table VI.5
Native Land Selections Conveyed
As of July 1, 1986

Corporation	Entitlement	Total Acreage Conveyed
CHUGACH LAND DISTRIBUTIONS		
Chugach Native, Inc.	373,000	113,808.64
Chenega Corporation	69,120	65,267.21
Tatitlek Corporation	115,200	100,594.0
Eyak Corporation	115,200	103,109.30
Natives of Kodiak, Inc.	23,040	21,734.0
Ouzinkie Native Corp.	69,120	29,456.0
Afognak Native Corp.	69,120	76,740.0
TOTAL ACRES CONVEYED CHUGACH NF	***	510,449.15
TONGASS LAND DISTRIBUTIONS		
Sealaska Corp.	273,000	204,406.16
Klawock-Heenya	23,040	20,199.20
Klukwan, Inc.	23,040	21,349.0
Kavilco, Inc.	23,040	23,053.89
Kootznoowoo, Inc.	23,040	14,695.42
Haida Corporation	23,040	20,810.16
Shee Atika, Inc.	23,040	26,263.01
Shaan Seet, Inc.	23,040	20,856.72
Huna Totem Corporation	23,040	21,608.74
Goldbelt, Inc.	23,040	30,735.81
Kake Tribal Corporation	23,040	21,994.37
Yak-Tat Kwaan, Inc.	23,040	21,837.1
Cape Fox Corporation	23,040	19,815.05
TOTAL ACRES CONVEYED ON THE TONGASS		464,624.63

[Notes: The occasional discrepancies between entitlements and total conveyed usually involve subsurface rights or exchanges. Sealaska Regional Corporation has subsurface rights to all village selections on the Tongass, while Chugach Natives Regional Corporation and Konaig Regional Corporation hold some of the collective rights of Chugach Forest villages. Other villages retain their own subsurface rights. Source: Region 10, Native and State Land Selection Statistics.]

By the close of the RMA era, much of the actual legal and evaluation work regarding Native and State land selections had been completed by the Region, a signal accomplishment for its RMA-organized staff. Actual land transfers, survey work, and timber harvests continued and kept the Region's work-force occupied constantly. Planning, a secondary consideration in the years before NEPA, RPA, and the Forest Management Act, became an on-going, constant, complex, and almost pre-eminent aspect of Forest management in the decade of the 1970s.

Enter the Era of Forest Planning

The decade of the Seventies marked the advent of a new era in National Forest management, an era dominated by long and short range planning of a magnitude and scope never previously entered into by the Forest Service. The Alaska Region began work on forest plans and completed planning documents for both the Tongass and the Chugach National Forests in 1974. The Region submitted the Tongass National Forest Land Use Plan and Draft Environmental Statement to the Council on Environmental Quality in Washington, D.C. and to other state, federal, and civic organizations in January 1975. While work on the plans began in 1968, they were constantly reshaped and refocused under NEPA (1969), and then by the Resource Planning Act (1974) guidelines. The two Forest plans anticipated the provisions of the National Forest management Act of 1976, which amended the RPA.⁶⁷ The two plans, however, lacked the depth and quality required, and apparently were largely ignored and "shelved" as soon as they were completed, but the process was an important prelude to intensive Forest planning in the Region.

Planning, to be sure, had always comprised a significant part of forestry work—from basic inventory to timber sale management and plans, to annual work plans developed on the Ranger District, Area, Forest, and Regional levels. Nevertheless, the new process was very different.

By 1976, the Forest Service recognized five distinct levels of planning which cumulatively comprised a national level of planning. The five levels included the Regional, Area, Forest, Resource and Program planning. Within the context of RPA and the Land Management Act, the Forest Service and each Region developed specific planning procedures and guidelines to systemize (and institutionalize) planning. Guidelines, for example, included inventory, field testing, federal and state agency interaction, public input, analysis, and review of preliminary decisions by public interest groups and all participating entities.⁶⁸

The primary product of the planning was to be a Regional Guide (or plan) and its ancillary Draft Environmental Impact Statements. The guide provided "national and Regional direction to the two National Forests within the Alaska Region for land and resource management planning efforts." Forest Plans, developed concurrently with but responsive to the Regional Plan, were more specific documents intended as a basic management tool for each Forest Supervisor. Much as

did the older, annual "Plan of Work," the forest plans became a policy manual or management contract between the National Forest and the Region. Because of its organization into Forest Areas, each administrative area of the Tongass National Forest became responsible for a component of the total Tongass Forest plan.⁶⁹

A more broadly conceived Area Plan sought to assess the economic, environmental, and social relationships of the National Forests to the area. Thus the development of the *Southeast Alaska Area Guide* preceded the preparation of the Tongass Land Management Plan (TLMP). Work on the Guide began in 1976. Sandor appointed a guide planning team headed by K. J. Metcalf, and including Area and State of Alaska representatives:

K. J. Metcalf	Facilitator
Bruce Baker	Issue Group Coordinator
Ed Brannon	Planning Systems Specialist
Rai Behnert	Planning Systems Specialist
Duane	Packer Resource Coordinator
Hank Hays	Chatham Area Representative
Charles Gass	Ketchikan Area Representative
Mick Kessel	Stikine Area Representative
Bill Overdorff	Stikine Area Representative
Judy Mitchell	Administrative Coordinator
Geoff Haynes	Alaska State Representative
John Palmes	Alaska State Representative
Hilton Wolfe	Alaska State Representative
Roger Allington	Sealaska Representative

Staff included David Hoopes, Norma Sammons, Toni Freitag and Richard Chapman.⁷⁰

The Area Guide identified prominent issues relating to the management of the Tongass, reviewed existing planning processes, described the provisions of the Resources Planning Act (RPA), and included a preliminary draft environmental statement on "proposed resource allocation direction for the Tongass." Most significantly, the appendix included "a study plan that provided the basic guidance for the creation of the Tongass Land Management Plan (TLMP)."⁷¹

Alaska Governor Jay S. Hammond recognized the *Area Guide* as a "fine achievement which establishes a land

use planning precedent worthy of recognition by all natural resources management agencies.” He also applauded the “climate of cooperation fostered by the Forest Service,” in the preparation of the *Guide*. The *Guide* examined alternative uses for Tongass Forest resources and clustered the uses under management alternatives grouped from “A” to “M.” Alternatives varied by timber yields, intensity of resource development, levels of mineral access, wilderness classification, roadless recreation, water-power development, fish improvements, and easement corridors.⁷² Completed in 1977, the *Southeast Alaska Area Guide* successfully initiated the processes leading to the *Tongass Land Management Plan*. In turn, the Tongass forest plan was the first completed for any of the National Forests and established important precedents for future forest planning.

Site-specific Unit Plans usually followed the completion of forest plans. They provided long-term direction for a smaller unit of land, and identified conflicts of resource uses within those units while offering options or programs for work within the unique parameters of the unit. Resource Plans, developed variously on the Forest or Regional level, were product specific and might relate, for example, to timber, wildlife, fish and mining. Program Plans, again operating within the framework prescribed by Forest Plans and the Regional Plan, were usually action plans and procedures for accomplishing specific tasks, such as cultural resource surveys or recreational programs. Once a plan was completed, reviewed, and amended, its implementation was to be monitored on a prescribed basis.⁷³

What did all of this mean? It meant, for one thing, a lot of work of a different kind for the Alaska Region. It meant also that forest management involved considerably more supervision, scrutiny, and direction by Congress, the State of Alaska, and by very diverse public constituency groups. It also meant that the complex and diverse interests related to National Forest resources would become more visible and focused. Not unsurprisingly, those diverse interests reflected very closely the “Issues of the Seventies,” and indeed Alaska’s historical socio-economic interests.

Governor Hammond, for example, thought that the *Southeast Alaska Area Guide* was “successfully oriented towards identification and resolution of the principal issues confronting future administration of the Tongass.” The overriding issue on the Tongass, as throughout Alaska, involved the question of “expanded versus limited resource development.” More specifically, the issues recognized included timber harvest,

mineral development, recreational development, fish and wildlife protection, wilderness, community well-being, and transportation.⁷⁴ Mike Barton, then Deputy Regional Forester, thought that of all the issues facing the Region, “timber, fisheries, and tourism ... are most affected by National Forest management.”⁷⁵ The style of Forest management changed markedly from that characteristic of the past half-century. Planning preempted the older “business-as-usual” forestry practices.

In October 1980, the Region re-established the traditional line-staff, Ranger District structure, but retained the Area administrative units of the Tongass National Forest. More ample budgets, a growing professional staff, the lack of on-the-ground field administrators (i.e. the Rangers), and its own uniqueness which deterred recruitment from career professionals outside of Alaska brought the RMA experiment to a close. The Tongass Land Management Plan, completed in March 1979, and the initiation of the processes leading to completion of the Chugach Forest Plan in 1984, were hallmarks of the Resource Management era in Region 10, and marked its termination.

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- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ Sandor, Senator Gravel's hearings, July 7, 1976.
- ⁷⁰ *Southeast Alaska Area Guide* p. 280.
- ⁷¹ Behnert, Planning on the Tongass and Chugach National Forests, p. 3.
- ⁷² *Ibid* [ii]
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-33; Sandor, Senator Gravel's hearings, July 7, 1976.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, [ii], pp. 7-8.

⁷⁵ Speech by Mike Barton to Western States Legislative Task Force Meeting, Ketchikan, Alaska, July 18, 1980, R10 Historical Files.

Chapter VII

Land Management Planning In The Alaska Region

Although older foresters will argue vigorously, and with some reason, that the Forest Service “was doing” forest plans and environmental impact statements long before there were such things, modern land management planning was introduced in the National Forests in the 1960s, became a central management tool in the 1970s, and has continued to mature and develop. The Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act (MUSY) of 1960 required multiple-use management of the National Forests to ensure the sustained production of timber, recreation, watershed, wildlife and fish habitat and resources. That Act, and the decade of the 1960s, marked a transition between what might be termed “Old Planning,” and the new era of forest management planning that evolved in the 1970s.

A New Era in Forest Planning

The major stimulus to the changing processes in National Forest management derived from Federal legislation. Before 1960 planning had been largely initiated at the local level. Plans varied widely in character and were devised to respond to local conditions. Planning was first the business of the Ranger District, second the Forest, and third the Region. Planning was a response to local conditions and projects, and usually revolved around timber harvests, recreation, and wildlife protection. In 1960, MUSY sought to integrate and more equitably allocate resource use through multiple-use planning initiated at the Forest level, and evolving through the Region to the national level. Ranger District plans, and later, resource use plans were devised based upon the Forest plan. *Organization and Management* directives, issued in 1962, institutionalized multiple-use planning and provided for public participation and review of the planning processes. A draft (preliminary) *Tongass National Forest Plan*, begun in the 1960s, and distributed in 1975, encountered serious public opposition within and outside of Alaska because of its timber management emphasis. That plan was never completed. It was just as well. The conditions and circumstances affecting Alaska National Forest Management changed markedly between 1969 and 1980. Planning changed to accommodate the new management environment.

Congress effected marked changes in National Forest management policy beginning with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, and continuing with the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act (RPA) of 1974, the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976, and the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) of 1976. In addition, through

ANCSA (approved in 1971) and ANILCA (presented in Congress in 1976 and approved in 1980), the Alaska Region received its own distinctive guidelines and directives affecting forest management and resource uses. The decades of the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the rapid evolution of forest planning from the old disparate style of planning, to a new, much more complex, integrated, participatory, environmental and ecological mode of planning.

In Alaska the major elements in the emerging new age of planning included the production of the *Southeast Area Guide*, and work on the *Tongass Land Management Plan* and the *Chugach Land Management Plan*, followed by evaluations and amendments and the production of the *Alaska Regional Guide*. Public participation and review of planning and forest plans became common. That public extended from Alaska-based environmental and forest resource user groups such as the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council (SEAC) to the nationally influential Sierra Club and Wilderness Society. Congress and the courts became critical factors in Alaska forest management. The focus of forest management shifted from the Ranger District and the outdoors to the offices of the Forest Supervisor and Regional Forester.

The evolution of the more formalized land use planning imposed by RPA and NFMA, and affected by NEPA, the Endangered Species Act (ESA), and other national legislation challenged Forest Service managers throughout the United States. Statehood, ANCSA, ANILCA, and soon the Tongass Timber Reform Act—compounded the planning problems for the Alaska Region. With the rules and available resources changing constantly, planning has become more difficult and illusive. The first stage of the new era of planning following the demise of the draft Tongass National Forest Plan was the preparation of *The Southeast Alaska Area Guide* that laid the groundwork for subsequent planning in the Alaska Region. It was a very important beginning.

The Southeast Alaska Area Guide

The *Southeast Alaska Area Guide*, begun in 1975 and completed in April 1977, marked the first phase of the two-stage process that concluded with the development of the Tongass Land Management Plan in 1979. It was a product of a planning team headed by K.J. Metcalf, and included Bruce Baker, Ed Brannon, Rai Behnert, Duane Packer, Hank Hays, Charles Gass, Mick Kessel, Bill Overdorff, and Judy Mitchell from the Forest Service, plus representatives of the State of Alaska (Geoff

Haynes, John Palmes, and Hilton Wolfe), and of the Native corporations (Roger Allington with Sealaska).¹

The *Area Guide* described the total planning area (Southeast Alaska), identified significant public issues related to National Forest management, and reviewed the nature of planning and forest management then being employed in Alaska. The *Guide* discussed management practices and programs commonly implemented in “day-to-day resource management situations” and “explained the Resources Planning Act (RPA) assessment and program goals.” The *Guide* also contained a draft (but incomplete) environmental statement relating to proposed resource allocations on the Tongass National Forest. The *Area Guide* sought to define how Forest Service responsibilities, legislative mandates and other responsibilities would be implemented. A Tongass Land Management Plan, prescribed by the *Guide* and representing the second part of the planning process, was to describe specifically where multiple-use opportunities would be provided through land use allocations (zoning). Even more specific site or project management plans based upon the Forest plan would follow and explain how, within allocated areas, uses were to be coordinated and controlled.²

The *Area Guide* profiled or characterized the management situation in Alaska, and on the Tongass as of the mid-1970s, to which the TLMP was to be responsive. This was in itself a signal accomplishment. It provided a sense of breadth and comprehensiveness that simply had not existed in earlier planning activities. The *Guide* also described the physical characteristics of the forest, themselves unique in the National Forest System.

A Description of the Tongass

Thus, the Tongass is characterized by high precipitation (100 inches annually of which about 35-percent is snow) and cool temperatures. The conditions slow the decomposition of organic matter leaving a deep, moist, organic duff layer over a thin layer of. The organic overlay is high in nutrients, while the basic soil fertility is low. Despite the 100 inches or more of rain, groundwater is scarce. Rainfall and snowmelt percolate through the humus and the presence of bedrock near the surface prevent the formation of deep aquifers drain the precipitation back into the oceans through the numerous streams and rivers.³

Mineral deposits are very rich on the Tongass and include copper, gold, uranium, gypsum, and barite, but at the time forest planning began there was very little actual mining activity in the Region. The *Guide* de-

scribed fish and wildlife resources as being “major commercial, subsistence, recreational, and aesthetic assets. ...The Tongass National Forest and adjacent waters contain 53 species of mammals, 269 species of birds, and seven species of amphibians and reptiles. The most prominent species included “the Sitka black-tailed deer, brown and black bears, bald eagles, wolves, moose, mountain goats...the humpback whale, killer whale, and porpoise.”⁴

How the Public Perceives the Tongass: and the Nature of the Public

The *Guide* also attempted to assess the public’s perception or state of mind about the Alaska forests. The public to which it referred was for the most part a national public.

In general terms, the dominant preference of the national public for southeast Alaska was to limit development and preserve the region’s fish, wildlife, and other wildland values through legislated Wilderness. This view was often expressed by people who voiced frustrations about expanding population, overcrowding, pollution, traffic congestion, loss of local wildland values, and other social ills in the “lower 48” states.⁵

What is significant here is not simply the public’s “preservationist” attitude about Alaska, but the underlying perception, as Jere Christner, later a Staff Officer for Fish, Wildlife, Watershed and Ecology, on the Chatham Area commented, that “everybody thinks Alaska belongs to them.”⁶ That “everybody” some Alaskans believe, tends to exclude Alaskans.

There was yet another aspect to this perception that “everybody thinks Alaska belongs to them.” The everybody—and prominently those in the lower 48 who ultimately made the rules and enacted the legislation that affected Alaska Forest management—were overwhelmingly urban. Most people “see” or understand Alaska and its forests through the eyes of an urban observer, observed Wayne Nicolls, later a Public Affairs Officer for Region 10.⁷ The experiences and understanding of the urban observer are not those of the Alaskans who dwell within the forests and may derive their livelihood from forest resources.

Many “who advocated preserving Alaska often qualified their statements by explaining that it was not important whether these Wilderness areas were visited. More important was the fact that people knew they existed now and would exist for future generations.”⁸ Thus, even the understanding of use and users of National

Forest resources began to change.

Because of Alaska's remoteness from the social and economic realities of their own constituents, many members of Congress could easily support legislation that would have little impact upon their own districts. Wildlife conservation and wilderness for Alaska could be not only "politically correct," but safe—less so when applied to Maine, Michigan or California. As Forest Service spokespersons explained to Congress in 1989 during discussions of the National Forest Management Act, "National Forests have become a focal point for tough environmental issues where the stakes are high and public debate is intense. Forest Service personnel are routinely called upon to balance the many potential uses of National Forests and to protect ecological and amenity values. The outcome of the decisions being made affect people and the environment in very real ways."⁹ But to Congress and Alaska's national constituency, that is, most of the people in the lower 48 states, the mystique of Alaska often overrode the reality of Alaska.

It was very difficult in the discussion of issues relating to ANCSA, ANILCA or wilderness, for example, to fully communicate to Congress an understanding of the unique facets of the Alaska situation. For example, most Americans did not think of southeastern Alaska as a rain forest; many thought that all Natives in Alaska are Eskimos. Most people had difficulty comprehending the weather, geography, and simple enormity of the space involved in Alaska. As Dick Estelle, one of the first landscape architects in the Region who arrived on the Stikine Area of the Tongass in 1973, explained, "Alaska does not fit the national scheme."¹⁰ And many others in the Region emphasize that in Alaska more so than anywhere else, in one's personal and professional life, distance, transportation, and logistics are paramount factors.

David D. Rittenhouse, later Forest Supervisor of the Ketchikan Area, recalled that while working in the Washington Office, and sitting in on hearings relating to the Tongass Timber Reform Act, he encountered a lot of misinformation about Alaska. People, that is those within the Forest Service, in Congress, and in the general public, tended to believe what they were told about Alaska. Simply the idea that Alaska was being "threatened" created an immediate defensive response. The Alaska "mystique" clouded realities and issues. It was very difficult to convince people that Alaska was a very large and diverse place, and that the forests were big enough to accommodate multiple-use: for timber, mining, recreation, sight-seeing, and subsistence.¹¹

In order to help resolve some of these basic communications problems, to better manage NEPA, RPA and ANCSA-related issues, and in small part to help facilitate the planning processes being initiated on the *Southeast Alaska Area Guide*, the Alaska Region located a manager and resource person in the Chief's office in Washington D.C.

Establishing the Alaska Desk, 1975

The problem of effectively communicating Region 10 concerns and Alaska conditions to the Chief, USDA Forest Service, and to Congress, led in 1975 to the creation of a special "Alaska desk" in the Washington office. The assignment began as a temporary effort to handle ANCSA-related problems, and to assist in the resolution of the d-2 lands classifications. The tenure was extended with the developing information-communications problems surrounding the post-ANCSA and ANILCA legislative processes.

Very soon after the establishment of the Alaska desk, Congress approved the National Forest Management Act. During Congressional Hearings relating to that legislation, Alaska Regional Forester, John Sandor testified that under the influence of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and the Resources Planning Act (RPA) the Forest Service had entered upon an era of "new planning" which he described as both "land management planning and program planning."¹² The Forest Management Act refined planning procedures, stressed public participation in the decision-making process, and provided uniform guidelines for land management planning and timber management.¹³

While it may not have solved the problem of educating the public about Alaska, it has helped immeasurably in enabling the Alaska Region to be more attuned and responsive to the legislative and political realities of Washington, D.C. Inadvertently, the Alaska desk became an important training ground for Alaska Forest administrators. Since its inception, those who have staffed the Alaska desk as "Alaska Affairs Coordinators" include:

ALASKA AFFAIRS COORDINATORS

Ken Reichert	1975-1976
Barney Coster	1976-1977
Hatch Graham	1976-1979
Joe Zalinski	1979-1982
vacant	1982-1985
John Hughes	1985-1986
Gary Morrison	1986-1988
Dave Rittenhouse	1988-1991
Ann Huebner	1991-1995

In time, the Alaska desk began to help shape Congressional legislation as it applied to the Alaska National Forests, largely through the process of educating Congress, the public and non-Alaska forest administrators about the distinctive qualities of Alaska forest resources. Gary Morrison, who became Supervisor of the Chatham Area of the Tongass in 1988, described the Alaska desk as essential. The position helped enormously in the formulation of ANILCA (in which Chief Max Peterson had a strong personal interest), and it was very significant in the development of the Tongass Timber Reform Act on which he worked throughout his tenure in Washington.¹⁴ Although considered a temporary solution to an ongoing problem, the creation of the Alaska Affairs Coordinator Position within the Chief's office over the years helped clarify Alaska conditions and contributed significantly to Alaska forest planning and management.

The *Southeast Alaska Area Guide* proved to be an important stepping stone in the Alaska planning process. It is a highly readable and very informative account that continues to have a validity and credibility in its own right. It represents a bridge between the old and the new era planning. It established the experience and the background that provided the basic direction for the creation of the Tongass Land Management Plan.¹⁵

The *Tongass Land Management Plan* (popularly called "T-Lump" in the Region) was the first National Forest management plan to be completed following passage of the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) in 1976. Completed in March 1979, and implemented in April, TLMP actually preceded the promulgation of the final regulations for the development of forest plans under NFMA. The processes involved in its construction contributed to a broader understanding of forest planning and to the development of the Forest Service regulations for implementing NFMA. The Tongass plan was not only the first forest management plan, but a plan for the singularly largest National Forest in the National Forest System—then comprising 15.2 million acres.¹⁶

The Resource Management Associate organization then existing in the Region stressed the interdisciplinary approach to forest management and provided an experience with the inter-disciplinary approach. That, coupled with the work on the *Southeast Alaska Area Guide* contributed to efficient, productive and timely work on the Tongass land management planning.

The Tongass Land Management Plan

The land management plan for the Tongass National Forest took several years to reach draft status, went through the public review procedure, and emerged in early 1979, less than three years after its inception, as the Final Environmental Impact Statement and Tongass Land Management Plan. TLMP was to answer three basic questions: How can the land be used on the basis of its inherent characteristics and the various laws which govern its use? How should the land be used on the basis of people's needs and desires? How will the land be used based on the integration of the answers to the above two questions?¹⁷

The answer to the third question was to result in a plan and associated programs that would direct land management activities. The Plan and its programs were to provide an equitable mix of land use opportunities in consideration of local, regional and national goals and objectives.¹⁸

The Interdisciplinary Team (IDT) responsible for the plan included Rai Behnert (Team Leader), Ed Brannon, K.J. Metcalf, Marlin Johnson, Dick Estelle, Dave Gibbons, Ron Glass, Carl Harmon, Charles Knight, Jim Kirschenman, Mike Perenovich and Charles Gass from the Forest Service. Team members Hilton Wolfe, Rick Reed, and Bob Wood represented the State of Alaska's Department of Natural Resources, and Department of Fish and Game. The Study Plan set December 1978 as a target date for publication of the draft environmental impact statements (DEIS) for the TLMP, with the TLMP to follow before mid-1979.

The core TLMP team adopted nine planning objectives and eight planning assumptions. Included in the objectives were such goals as creating a lands characteristic data base, to fully involve the public in the process, and to "provide each of the Tongass Forest Management Areas: Ketchikan, Stikine, and Chatham, with firm management direction through 1990." The assumptions were such that all existing contracts and agreements would be honored, that the TLMP would become the basis for resource management in the Region, and that all plans, including TLMP, would be brought into conformance with regulations relating to the National Forest Management Act of 1976. The planning process involved four phases: Phase 1—pre-planning; Phase 2—land assessment and socio-economic assessment; Phase 3—alternative formulation; and Phase 4—plan formulation. Flow charts of activities and products were printed. Each of these phases embodied several tasks.¹⁹

The structure and time-table for developing the *Tongass Land Management Plan* included a pre-planning phase of several months involving the draft of a preliminary TLMP study plan, and its refinement into a final study plan. Approximately one year was then scheduled for the assessment work. That included task force studies, management options, technical findings, and summaries. The next planning phase examined alternative management opportunities, and the final phase resulted in the production of a draft and final environmental impact statement.²⁰

Rai Behnert, Planner for the Region's Ecosystem Planning and Budgeting office, who headed the TLMP and later the TLMP evaluation team prepared the following flow diagram to illustrate forest planning events in the Region:

During its preparation, the *Tongass Land Management Plan* was influenced by several factors not foreseen in the planning study plan. ANCSA land distributions, and the development of ANILCA legislation, under consideration in Congress throughout the TLMP process, affected planning considerations. For example, Congress had under consideration as a part of pending ANILCA legislation a proposal for creating four new Wilderness Areas from Tongass lands, and setting aside five additional areas for wilderness study. Indeed, although ANILCA did not become law until after completion of the Tongass Land Management Plan, the President had by Executive Proclamation already created the Admiralty Island and Misty Fiords National Monuments within the Tongass late in 1978. Thus forest planning in general, and TLMP planning in particular proceeded upon some very shifting sands of legislation mandating resource uses and allocations. The following timeline indicates the national political context in which Tongass planning proceeded:

Table VII.2
R10 Planning Events in a Time Flow Diagram,
c. 1960-1996

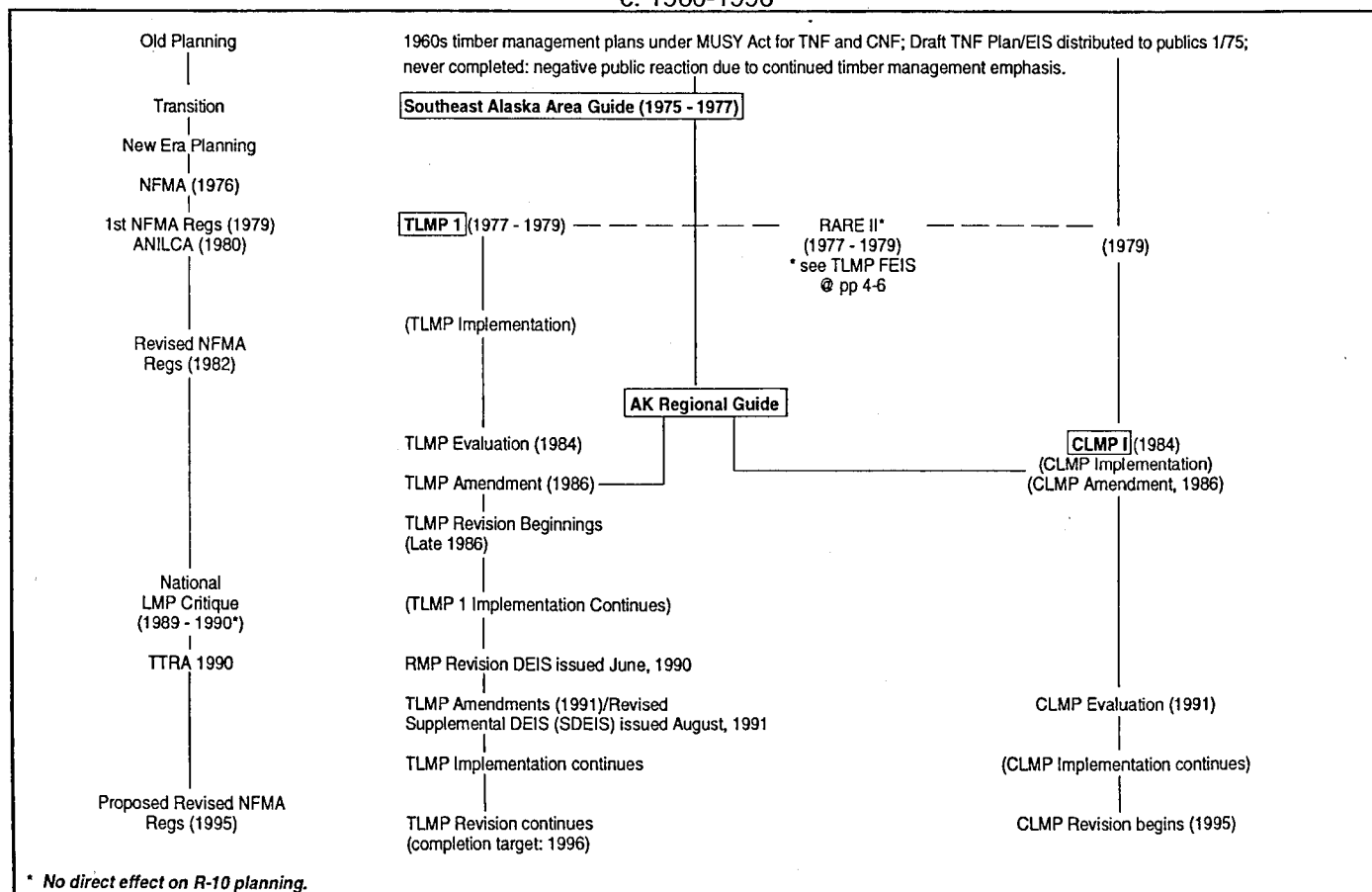


Table VII.2
TLMP Planning: The Concurrent Washington
Legislative Scene

September 1976	Planning process begins.
January 1977	Congressman Morris Udall introduces H.R. 39 (ANILCA), includes large wilderness area designations for the Tongass.
May 1977	President Carter declared Alaska lands legislation to be among highest priority environmental actions of his administration.
September 1977	The Carter administration held a series of meetings to develop a position on the Alaska lands legislation. Most of the Admiralty Island is recommended as wilderness.
January 1978	Four additional wilderness areas and five wilderness study areas were recommended by the Carter Administration.
May 1978	The House of Representatives passed an amended H.R. 39 including the Carter Administration's proposed wilderness areas.
June 1978	The Tongass Land Management Plan Draft Environmental Statement is issued.
June 1978	Secretary of Agriculture Berglund reiterated the Carter Administration's position on Alaska lands legislation.
August 1978	Regional Forester Sandor submitted his recommendations to the Chief.
October 1978	The House passed H.R. 39, but the Senate does not act on it.
November 1978	The Secretary of Agriculture requested a two-year withdrawal of all areas considered by the House, Senate, or the Administration.
December 1978	President Carter proclaims Admiralty Island and Misty Fiords as Forest Service managed National Monuments.
March 1979	TLMP completed.
December 1980	ANILCA approved by President Carter.

It was (and is) difficult to accomplish forest planning

then, and appears to be more difficult now (judging by how long the TLMP revision process has been on-going) in the context of a constantly changing socio-political environment.

Not only did current Congressional actions alter the size and uses of the Alaska National Forests, but past actions, such as Statehood and ANCSA, continued to change the land base involved in planning, as did the refinement of regulations for implementing the National Forest Management Act.

The NFMA regulations were first issued in 1979 and revised in 1982. They required that National Forest land management plans contain seven approval decisions, including development of: strategy for management activities, multiple use goals and objectives, forest-wide standards and guidelines, management area selection and direction, allowable sale quality and suitable timber lands, nonwilderness allocations and wilderness recommendations, and monitoring and evaluation requirements. The current NFMA regulations were published in 1982, when the final revised regulation, 36 CFR 219, was issued.²¹

Six data-gathering task forces, including specialists from the Alaska Departments of Fish and Game, Environmental Conservation, Natural Resources, Commerce and Economic Development, Community and Regional Affairs; and the National Marine Fisheries Service; the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service; the U.S. Bureau of Mines; and the University of Alaska, identified and accumulated the information used in developing the TLMP. Their work began in January 1977.

The TLMP team divided the Tongass into 867 value comparison units that could be used by the data-gathering task groups as a common set of areas for inventorying and interpreting resource values: "A VCU is generally a distinct geographic area that encompasses a drainage basin containing one or more large stream systems. Boundaries usually follow easily recognizable watershed divides." VCUs sometimes were a single island, a group of islands, or an icefield. They ranged in size from a few thousand acres to hundreds of thousands of acres, and averaged about 18,000 acres.²² The allocation and definition of the VCUs developed during the actual planning process and review of and management alternatives. Thus, in time, VCUs were allocated to four land use designations (LUDs) and are briefly described as follows:

LUD I. The area recommended for designation as wilderness [239 VCUs or 5,400,000 acres].

- LUD II. Maintained in a roadless state to retain a wildland primitive environment [127 VCUs, 2,746,000 acres].
- LUD III. Management with some commodity values [194 VCUs, 2,833,000 acres].
- LUD IV. Management for commodity resources [299 VCUs, 4,212,000 acres].²³

The six task groups independently inventoried and evaluated each VCU as it related to its identified resource. Thus, the Landtype/Timber Task Force Working Report described how the timber values of the 867 value comparison units (VCU) were inventoried and based on photographic surveillance. The inventory did not enjoy the luxury of field verification.²⁴ A Minerals Task Force Working Report established four categories of "mineralized potential areas" for each VCU.²⁵ The Recreation/Wilderness Task Force Working Report classified land areas by three recreational types: dispersed primitive, dispersed semi-primitive, and concentrated. A wilderness attribute rating system was applied to 1,920 (Alaskan and non-Alaska) roadless areas inventories in the RARE II process.²⁶ A Wildlife Task Force Working Report compiled all known information about wildlife habitats and their productivity, identified habitats essential to the maintenance of existing wildlife populations, assembled data on habitat abundance and quality and on the use of wildlife resources by sportspersons and other consumptive and non-consumptive users. Finally, the Wildlife Task Force evaluated all wildlife and wildlife habitat data for each VCU.²⁷

To integrate the Tongass resource data into the broader scheme of Alaska life, a Socioeconomic Task Force, working in cooperation with the University of Alaska's Institute of Social and Economic Research provided a socioeconomic overview of the Southeast region, and local elements within that region. In a report entitled the Tongass Land Management Plan: Socioeconomic Overview, the task force discussed the institutional structure of the Southeast Alaska timber industry, assessed other area industries, and forecast what might be anticipated in the southeast Alaska industrial situation.²⁸ It examined the broader dimensions of the Alaska timber and fisheries industries, transportation, tourism, and recreational and subsistence uses of Tongass forest resources.

For example, a study entitled An Assessment of the Demand-Supply Situation for Southeast Alaska Timber: Working Report, written by Ronald J. Glass, stated that Southeast Alaska was capable of producing more timber than it consumed, allowing export to the eastern

Pacific Rim. With no incentive to hold old growth timber, it was expected that demand for National Forest timber would decline while private old growth timber would be harvested.²⁹

The planning effort on the Tongass National Forest was led by an interdisciplinary team and involved a number of related task teams who prepared reports supporting development of the two main documents—the *Tongass Land Management Plan* and the *Final Environmental Impact Statement*.

The Final Tongass Land Management Plan and Final Environmental Statement

The *Tongass Land Management Plan* and EIS was issued in March 1979. Chief John R. McGuire signed the Record of Decision on March 12, 1979, and approved an implementation date of April 15, 1979. McGuire commented that:

The proposed action provides for a diversity of resource management, a balance of recreation opportunities, and limits, to some extent, high costs at the margin. It is reasonably sensitive to a wide range of environmental needs providing the best means to minimize environmental harm, provides for a fairly stable economy, and meets local and national goals for wildland use opportunities.³⁰

The *Tongass Land Management Plan*, a document of 197 pages, established the management direction for the Tongass National Forest that stemmed from the planning process. The Plan identified ten scheduled management goals relating to: wilderness, timber, recreation, tourism, visual, fish, wildlife, hydroelectric power, road corridors and minerals. Examples of the planning goals included management of approximately 35 percent of the Tongass as wilderness; making enough timber available to maintain current levels of employment; and creating a broad spectrum of recreational opportunities. Forest managers proposed to improve recreational facilities and attractions related to tourism, maintain and enhance fisheries resources, and maintain and improve the natural productivity of the Forest's wildlife habitat. The Forest Service would also facilitate the development of hydroelectric power sites (given due consideration of other resources), facilitate the development of potential road corridors (identified by the Southeast Alaska Multimodal Transportation Study), and facilitate the orderly development of mineral resources. Overall, the Region established 141 management areas on the 15,189,193 acre Tongass National Forest, with approximately 7 million acres in the Chatham administrative area, 3 million acres in the

Stikine administrative area and 5 million acres in the Ketchikan administrative area.³¹

In general terms the plan called for management of approximately one-third of the forest for wilderness and two-thirds for multiple use. The wilderness areas proposal in the Plan was the same as that recommended by the Secretary of Agriculture in the RARE II Final Environmental Statement filed January 4, 1979. The land management plan offered ten management alternatives, and recommended an accepted alternative which often combined portions of other alternatives. The alternatives were themselves derived through a seven-step review process.³²

The Environmental Impact Statement listed the environments affected by the plan which included analyses of physical conditions, biological conditions, social aspects, and economic aspects. The priority goals for the *Tongass Land Management Plan* included quality additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System, environmentally sensitive non-wilderness management, maintaining employment levels in the forest products industry and accomplishing the goals in a cost effective manner.³³ They would be admirable goals, but difficult to achieve.

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the *Tongass Land Management Plan*, and the processes involved in its development was the recognition that environmental concerns and multiple-use had displaced timber as the prime consideration in Alaska forest management. The trend in management of national forests was toward dominant use of non-timber resources.³⁴ This trend has forced a reappraisal of the role of the National Forests as a renewable natural resource. The *Tongass Land Management Plan* represented an important step by the Forest Service away from its post World War II focus on timber production.

Regional Forester John A. Sandor, speaking to the Alaska Loggers Association in 1979, just after the TLMP was issued and before ANILCA had passed in Congress, explained that work on the plan had begun three years before. The plan predated initiation of RARE II, and while planning was in progress planners had to adjust to withdrawals and the National Monuments, and were cognizant of legislative proposals (some of which became part of ANILCA) that might affect southeast Alaska. He believed TLMP struck a reasonable balance between wilderness, the need to maintain existing levels of employment in the timber industry, and to deal with sensitive areas, including fish

and wildlife habitat.³⁵ Although TLMP changed the focus of management away from timber production, and thus marked a significant transition in the management of Alaska National Forests resources, timber, and prominently the long-term timber contracts, continued to heavily influence management decisions. However, TLMP had the immediate effect of restricting where timber management could be carried out because of its explicit identification of VCU-based land use allocations. While the long-term timber contracts continued to be an engine driving Tongass forest management into the decade of the Nineties, the Forest Service now had fewer timber resources with which to meet its timber supply obligations.

Because the *Tongass Land Management Plan* was the first implemented under NFMA for any of the National Forests, and prior to the completion of Forest Service regulations relating to the implementation of NFMA, TLMP was, in effect, a pioneering effort. Tongass planning proved to be a learning experience for the Forest Service nationwide, and the issues and experiences derived from work on the Tongass plan helped frame the NFMA regulations which were finalized on September 19, 1979.³⁶

As Deputy Regional Forester Bob Williams commented a decade later regarding the TLMP revision processes (and planning in general): "it is clear that we should have land management plans to guide what we do," and "we are working diligently to have them modern and up-to-date," ...but "there's always something that stops it and slows it down. ...halfway through the year the targets have changed, new problems have taken a shift on you, and all of a sudden you don't accomplish what you thought you would."³⁷ But the TLMP planning team not only did a remarkable job of maintaining their production schedule, but produced the nation's first modern comprehensive National Forest plan that encompassed the mandates and guidelines derived from the Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, and the National Forest Management Act.

Although work on the Chugach National Forest management plan began almost concurrently with TLMP, the Chugach plan did not reach its final stage until 1984. Chugach planners added ANILCA to their legislative mandates. The Chugach benefitted from the final coding of NFMA regulations, and most significantly from the Tongass planning experiences. To be sure, Chugach forest planning was strongly influenced by two factors very different from those affecting the Tongass: first, there was virtually no timber harvest on the

Chugach; and secondly, the Chugach is adjoined by a very large and growing urban area—Anchorage.

The Chugach Land and Resource Management Plan

Clay G. Beal arrived in Anchorage in January 1974, to assume duties as Chugach National Forest Supervisor (Area Manager), replacing Barney A. Coster. Coster assumed the job of directing the d-2 planning team to study New National Forests for Alaska, and then headed the Area Guide effort. Beal, who completed his forestry studies at the University of Maine, spent almost his entire Forest Service career in the Pacific Northwest before moving to Alaska. His forte was recreation and wilderness planning—both of which admirably suited the special needs of the Chugach forest planning effort.

Beal appointed John Sherrod to lead the planning effort. Under Sherrod a Chugach planning team included Bob Dunblazier, team leader; Bob Schiller, economist; Russell Smith, timber management planner; Bob Wilhelm, editor and environmental coordinators; Dean Davidson, soil scientist; Ken Rice, wildlife biologist, and James Tallerico, recreation planner. Patricia Owens, a cartographic specialist, produced all the maps and graphics in the draft planning documents.³⁸

The scoping or inquiry phase for the *Chugach National Forest Plan* occurred between 1977 and 1980. The Forest Service began soliciting public interest and concerns in 1979.³⁹ In April 1979, foresters prepared the initial study plan for the Chugach National Forest. It established planning objectives. Planning phases included pre-planning, inventory, alternatives formulation, selection of a preferred alternative, and monitoring and evaluation. Preliminary issues, concerns and opportunities were listed by resource.⁴⁰

The plan itself was scheduled for release in September 1981, and by January 1980 the plan seemed near the draft stage, with the environmental statement scheduled for filing in February 1981. However, before closure, a significant new element was injected into Chugach Forest planning. On December 2, 1980, President Carter signed ANILCA, the Alaska Lands Act, which created a new dimension for forest planning in Alaska. Chugach planners now looked at a different Chugach Forest than had previously existed. And ANILCA, with other considerations, made revision of the just completed Tongass land management plan more urgent. But, for a time planning was disrupted by the Region's decision to reorganize.

The RMA (Resource Management Associate) Experiment Comes to a Close

While Region 10 pondered the impact of ANILCA on

the existing Tongass Land Management Plan, and the developing Chugach Forest plan, and wrestled with the necessity of revision and redirection in forest planning the decision was made to end the RMA organization and return to the traditional Ranger District/Forest organization.

"By 1980 increases in budgets and personnel resulted in a breadth of skill levels sufficient to warrant reorganization back into a Ranger District organizational structure."⁴¹ The real enabling ingredient behind the return to the Ranger District system was that Alaska Region's Forest Service budget began to rise dramatically after 1978. The RMA restructuring, it should be recalled, was in part a cost-saving, consolidation effort. The Region's budget doubled from \$42 million in 1978, to \$90 million in 1983. The Region officially ended the RMA organization in October 1980. Congress approved ANILCA in November, and President Carter signed the bill in December. Although the reorganization promised to strengthen the implementation phase of forest planning, it brought yet another tilt with chaos and confusion in the Region, which in a way was still reeling from the effects of the original reorganization to the RMA system, and from the infusion of large numbers of personnel, and the deluge of new administrative duties imposed by Statehood, ANCSA, the Resources Planning Act, NFMA, and now ANILCA.

The Chugach National Forest remained essentially as it had been under the reorganization, but for title changes. On the Tongass, Ranger Districts were created and staffed with personnel from the Area and Regional offices. The new Monuments were treated organizationally as Ranger Districts. Thus, after 1980 the Regional organization included the Regional Office at Juneau, the Chugach National Forest Office in Anchorage, and Tongass National Forest Area offices respectively in Sitka, Petersburg, and Ketchikan.

1980 Forest Areas and Ranger Districts

- CHUGACH NATIONAL FOREST -
 - Supervisor's Office - Anchorage
 - Cordova Ranger District - Cordova
 - Seward Ranger District - Seward
 - Anchorage Ranger District - Anchorage
- TONGASS NATIONAL FOREST -
 - CHATHAM AREA - Supervisor's Office - Sitka
 - Sitka Ranger District
 - Hoonah Ranger District
 - Juneau Ranger District
 - Admiralty Island National Monument
- STIKINE AREA - Supervisor's Office - Petersburg
- Petersburg Ranger District

Wrangell Ranger District
KETCHIKAN AREA - Supervisor's Office - Ketchikan
Ketchikan Ranger District
(North Prince of Wales Ranger District)*
Thorne Bay Ranger District*
Misty Fjords National Monument
[*North Prince of Wales RD was consolidated with
Thorne Bay in 1982]⁴²

Ranger District reorganizations occurred intermittently during the 1980s. The Chugach renamed the Anchorage Ranger District the Glacier Ranger District. The Chatham Area added the Yakutat Ranger District which was separated from the Juneau Ranger District. The Juneau District maintained a small office and staff at Yakutat prior to the separation. Before the creation of the Yakutat District (1.2 million acres), incidentally, the Juneau Ranger District consisted of approximately four million acres of land making it the largest Ranger District in the Forest Service. Had the Juneau Ranger District been organized as a separate National Forest, it would then have been the third largest National Forest in the System, following the Tongass and Chugach National Forests.⁴³

In the short term the demise of the RMA organization created new problems while solving some of the old ones. Personnel had to be reassigned, often with inadequate housing and office facilities awaiting at their destination. As Harold Donnelly, an engineer on the Chatham Area noted, with the reorganization back to the Ranger Districts "we had to change our way of doing business. We had to learn to work with the Ranger rather than with the RMA."⁴⁴ The problem of logistics intruded more acutely now than it had under the RMA structure.

Another problem related to the question of where specialists should be housed, at the Ranger level or in the Area or Regional Offices? It is a problem not yet wholly resolved. But the return to the Ranger District did give the forester a sense of focus that was lacking under the RMA structure, Jim Franzel, District Ranger of the Sitka Ranger District thought. There was now a person on the site who was responsible for implementation of programs, who maintained community contacts and relations, and who maintained a strong professional orientation for all personnel.⁴⁵

But the transition and relocation of personnel to Ranger Districts was difficult. And the RMA penchant for authority to emanate from the Area offices rather than from the Ranger Districts prevailed even after the reorganization. The old independence and integrity of

the Ranger District such as it had existed before the RMA period did not reappear. To be sure, in the 1990s, the Region began making serious efforts to return more authority to the Ranger Districts—but to be equally sure, the modern Ranger District would never be in the "lone Ranger" mode of earlier times. Time and circumstances no longer made that feasible, or even desirable. National Forest management had become an integrated, multi-disciplined, many-faceted business.

The reorganization back to Ranger Districts, and the assimilation of ANILCA requirements disrupted planning processes. But having these very considerable tasks behind enabled the Region to look forward to the future with greater certainty. The 1980s seemed to offer a stronger sense of direction for the continuance of Chugach forest planning and for revision of the Tongass plan. The decade began with Federal legislation that markedly affected the availability and use of resources on Alaska forests.

The Alaska Lands Act (ANILCA) and Forest Planning Passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) in 1980, promulgation of planning regulations for Section 6 of the National Forest management Act (NFMA) of 1976, and issuance of NFMA-related Forest Service planning direction have changed TLMP and promise to change it even further as TLMP is updated and revised.⁴⁶

The Tongass National Forest Land Management Plan "was utilized in the development of the Alaska Lands Act," and was to be modified to reflect the changes prescribed by the legislation. and Chugach planning was redirected to accommodate the new conditions. ANILCA added 1.9 million acres to the Chugach National Forest, including the Nellie Juan area, College Fjord, Copper/Rude River, and Controller Bay. Kates Needle, the Juneau Icefield, and the Brabason Range, totalling 1.45 million acres, were added to the Tongass National Forest.⁴⁷

The Alaska Land Use Council

ANILCA also created a Land Use Council including Federal, State, and Native representatives. Co-chaired by the Governor of Alaska and a presidential appointee, the Council provides counsel and direction on inter-agency issues specifically assigned to it, and is a forum for Federal, State, and Native land managers to meet to discuss common problems and issues. The Regional Forester is a permanent member of the Land Use Council. ANILCA directed the completion of a special Chugach regional study under Council supervision by December 1981. Other projects assumed by the

Council included reviews of BLM administered Wild & Scenic Rivers, a study of a Denali Scenic Highway corridor and a Stikine River-Canada roadway, and potential visitor center locations in Southeast Alaska. The Council also reviewed agency consideration of oil and mineral leasing, and cooperative interagency guidelines and programs.⁴⁸

ANILCA directed the Forest Service to "maintain a timber supply of 4.5 billion board feet per decade on the Tongass National Forest," and provided approximately \$40 million annually to fund the timber program and to supplement timber sale costs. The supplemental funding (about 1/3 of the \$40 million) was used for pre-roading and intensive management measures to make marginal timber economically viable, and thus indirectly to facilitate timber harvests. After TLMP and ANILCA, the available timber base on the Tongass was considerably reduced from that existing at the time the long-term timber contracts were entered into, and some of the available timber would be in more inaccessible areas and hence more expensive to harvest. ANILCA provided additional funding for the timber aspects of the TLMP plan, but the supplement raised more and more opposition as time passed, on the grounds that it fostered "below cost" timber sales.⁴⁹

ANILCA also provided for fisheries research and development in cooperation with the State, and required a series of special reports to Congress. Those included a regular report on timber harvest levels in the Tongass National Forest, and studies of the impact of wilderness designations on the timber, fishing, and tourism industries in southeast Alaska, protective measures for fish and wildlife habitat, and reports on a Small Business Set Aside Program created under the Act. Related to the latter was a special loan program "established for purchasers of National Forest wood products to help them acquire equipment and to develop new technology for using wood products."⁵⁰ ANILCA was a very comprehensive piece of legislation and the consensus at the time was that it would be the "final solution" for the ongoing Alaska lands issues. It was not. But it did change the way the Forest Service was doing business, and it particularly changed some of the rules for forest planning.

ANILCA: A Different Kind of Wilderness for Alaska
In addition to creating the 5.6 million acres of National Forest Wilderness Areas, the legislation prescribed special conditions and uses for Alaska wilderness that differed markedly from wilderness uses (or prohibitions) prescribed by the Wilderness Act of 1964. ANILCA specifically authorized fishing, hunting and trapping; and subsistence uses, including sport hunting and

fishing. Cabins and structures, including temporary shelters could be used in wilderness areas; as could permanent improvements relating to fishery research and management. The Act authorized special use permits for guides and outfitters, and the use of airplanes, motorboats, and snowmachines. It did prohibit the sale or harvest of timber from Wilderness lands, but authorized the salvage of beach logs and the use of timber for campfires, trail construction and subsistence needs. It also prohibited future mineral entry on the National Monuments, but specifically permitted the continuance of developments by U.S. Borax at Quartz Hill in the Misty Fiord National Monument, and a Pan Sound Venture at Greens Creek in the Admiralty Island National Monument.⁵¹

ANILCA and Subsistence Users

Subsistence basically recognizes the right of individuals to "live off the land" in a traditional, hunting-gathering mode. ANCSA, approved by Congress in 1971, extinguished aboriginal hunting and fishing rights, but conference reports anticipated that Native subsistence would be protected by the State of Alaska, and the Department of Interior. In 1978, the State of Alaska passed the first subsistence law which gave all Alaskans, not just the Natives, the right to hunt and fish for food, and gave a priority to subsistence users over all other game and fish uses. ANILCA, approved in 1980, required a subsistence priority for "rural residents" on Federal "public lands." The Act recognized the State's rights to regulate hunting and fishing uses on Federal lands, if the state enacted a law granting subsistence priority to rural residents, in conformity with Federal statutes. In 1982, the Alaska Boards of Fisheries and Game did adopt regulations creating a rural subsistence priority, but protests from Alaska (largely urban-based) sportsmen led to a 1985 court decision (*Madison v. State*) which ruled that the 1978 State subsistence law did not authorize the Board of Fisheries and Game to grant rural subsistence rights.⁵² The State remained out of compliance with ANILCA on subsistence, and the issue became increasingly divisive and difficult as time passed. Whereas subsistence had received only passing recognition, by the '90s it had become a major element in forest planning and resource use. ANILCA-prescribed wilderness management, and subsistence particularly affected development of the Chugach National Forest Plan.

Completing the Chugach Forest Plan

During late June through early August, 1981, Chugach planners provided an overview of the Chugach plan to local federal agencies, adjacent Native ownerships,

nearby communities, and other local governments, state agencies, environmental organizations and resource development interests. In August 1981, a "National Forest Land Management Plan Update" publication was disseminated. On June 1, 1982, the *Draft EIS* and *Draft Forest Plan* were published and distributed. Over 800 copies of the full documents were mailed to agencies, organizations, individuals, businesses, and libraries. One-thousand copies of the *Summary* were also distributed. Following this, public hearings were held in Cordova, Valdez, Seward, and Anchorage; open houses were also conducted. Personal appearances by Forest Service personnel gave talks and led discussions wherever and whenever invited.⁵³

Over one-thousand comments and documents were received during the public comment and review period. The discussions and public reviews resulted in a supplement to the EIS before it was finalized. The supplement of July 1983, added new data updating outputs of goods and services and the environmental consequences of proposed actions. Supplementing the EIS is permitted under NEPA. During late 1983 and early 1984, the Forest Service and the Alaska Land Use Council collaborated in developing a preferred alternative for the Chugach. That alternative became the Chugach forest plan. The Land and Resource Management Plan for the Chugach National Forest, which emerged from the proposed action/preferred alternatives (out of thirteen considered), was issued in July 1984. The plan was prepared in accordance with the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act (RPA) as amended by the National Forest Management Act (NFMA).⁵⁴ It contained four chapters and an appendix. Chapter I comprised the introduction, while Chapter II contained a summary of the management situation. Chapter III included the management direction for the National Forest and Chapter IV discussed implementation of the plan. The appendix provided many detailed maps.

The *Final Environmental Impact Statement, Chugach National Forest Plan*, also was issued in July 1984. It included the "Record of Decision," issued July 27, 1984, by Regional Forester Sandor. Sandor noted that thirteen alternatives had been developed and evaluated. He characterized the alternative chosen as the one which provides, "the continuance of the direction by which the Forest is currently managed."⁵⁵

The FEIS, a lengthy document, containing seven chapters, a list of references, an index, and five appendices, examined nine management areas on the

Chugach National Forest. The study reviewed management alternatives and offered an economic analysis of each alternative developed, including average annual outputs for each resource and alternative for five periods. Wilderness was a critical component of the FEIS. Over 1.7 million acres of the Chugach National Forest comprising the Nellie Juan-College Fiord study area was recommended for Wilderness designation. In October 1985 a *Final Environmental Impact Statement and Wilderness Study Report* was forwarded to the Chief of the Forest Service from the Chugach National Forest recommending the addition of the Nellie Juan and College Fiord Wilderness. The EIS was tiered to and incorporated by reference to the *Chugach National Forest Land and Resource Management Plan* and *Forest Plan Final Environmental Impact Statement* documents. The proposed action was based on six alternatives studied. The principal difference in the alternatives involved varying opportunity costs.⁵⁶

Amendments to the Chugach Plan

The Region completed the Chugach plan in July 1984. A number of its provisions were appealed in August. Ultimately there were five amendments to the Chugach plan prior to its implementation.

The 1984 Plan Appeal and January 1, 1986 Amendment

On August 17, 1984, the Sierra Club and 17 other appellants filed an administrative appeal of the Regional Forester's decision to approve 1984 plan. The statement of reasons for the appeal was filed on October 10, 1984, followed by the Regional Forester's responsive statement on December 31, 1984. The Southeast Alaska Conservation Council and the Alaska Resource Development Council were granted intervenor status in the appeal. In January, 1985, the Chief of the Forest Service agreed to suspend the appeal for approximately 2 1/2 months to allow it to be negotiated. The appeal effectively halted all development activities on the Forest. Regional Forester Barton completed the negotiated agreement on November 26, 1985. In the agreement the level of timber sale offerings would not exceed an average of 6.3 million board feet for the first five years and an average of 10.6 million for the next five years of the plan. In addition the Nellie Juan and College Fiord Management Areas would be managed in a manner consistent with wilderness management guidelines. Management area analyses would be completed in the following areas: minerals area management, recreation, timber, subsistence, transformation planning, land selections, standards and guidelines, and environmen-

tal impacts. The appellants agreed to participate with the Forest Service in several aspects, and would not "initiate or pursue" further appeals or judicial review of future Forest Service actions. The effective date of Amendment No. 1 was January 7, 1986.⁵⁷ Several other "project level" amendments were also made to the Chugach plan.

Amendment No. 2 allowed access to the face of Portage Glacier by a tour boat up to 80 feet long, and was arrived at by a Decision Notice and FONSI dated November 28, 1986.⁵⁸ Amendment No. 3 (Fuels Reduction Program on the Kenai Peninsula), dated December 15, 1987, and based on a Decision Notice and FONSI (Finding of No Significant Impact) allowed harvest of about 3.5 million board feet from 950 acres and construction of 14.4 total miles of road, to reduce fire danger in an area affecting communities and structures.⁵⁹ Amendment No. 4 allowed the Chugach Alaska Corporation to build a temporary road.⁶⁰ The final amendment called for reducing wildfire risk to Cooper Landing by removing about 15 million board feet of dead fuels and reforestation of 2,500 acres. Roads to be constructed were to be rehabilitated when the work was complete.⁶¹

Because the *Land and Resource Management Plan* for the Chugach National Forest followed the TLMP work, and was completed after the approval of ANILCA, once completed the need for revisions were less pressing than for the Tongass plan. Also, since the timber program was so small on the Chugach, the complaints were fewer and pressures for revision less. The Chugach forest plan clearly put environmental concerns and multiple-uses "up front." While the long-term timber contracts continued to influence the management of the Tongass National Forest in a timber-oriented manner, this was not true on the Chugach which effectually became, if it had not been so before, a "visitor and recreational forest." Work on the Chugach Forest plan complemented a broader, Region-wide study and plan required by the 1976 National Forest Management Act (Section 219.8 and 219.9).

Regional Land Management Planning Documents

Regional planning links the RPA assessment and program with local National Forest and State planning. The Regional plans were to serve four main purposes:⁶² providing standards and guidelines for activities to be carried out on National Forests, providing planning direction for developing National Forest plans, displaying Region RPA program and tentative resource targets among individual National Forests, and providing general coordination of National Forest System pro-

grams with State and Private forestry programs, and with research programs.⁶³

Work to develop the regional plan began early in 1980 with the appointment of an interdisciplinary planning team. Jim Pierce of Program, Planning and Budget was the leader. Team members included Bill Baxandall, Ron Dippold, Ed Gross, Hank Hays, Ron Holmers, Diane Mayer, Joe Mehrkens, Teressa Moen, Bob Muth, Bill Sheridan, Walt Sheridan, and Ron Wood. Although the *Tongass Land Management Plan* had already been issued, portions of it were susceptible to change if the regional management direction proved inconsistent with that prescribed in the TLMP.⁶⁴

The team first planned its activities and the scheduled dates of completion, and then sent an 8-page brochure, "Regional Issues, Decision Criteria, and Public Involvement," to the public on February 19, 1980. The timetable called for the DEIS and preferred plan to be issued in July 1980, the FEIS to be issued by January 16, 1981, and implementation to begin February 15, 1981.⁶⁵ Uncertainty over the date of final passage of ANILCA caused the process to be suspended in June 1980. But the work resumed once the legislation was passed in December 1980. On October 2, 1981, the revised schedule called for implementing the plan by March 26, 1982.⁶⁶

The Region produced a *Draft Alaska Regional Plan* and a *Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Alaska Regional Plan* in August 1981. The Draft Plan included a summary of the Analysis of the Management Situation, regional goals and objectives, standards and guidelines, and monitoring and evaluation. The DEIS conveyed "management direction from the National level to the Tongass and Chugach National Forests," according to its summary. The appendix included an elaborate policy cross reference with three sections: Area Guide policies, Regional Plan policies, and Reason for Change/Reference.⁶⁷ NFMA regulations published September 30, 1982, changed the name of the of the Regional Plan to Regional Guide in order to clarify and distinguish National Forest-level planning processes from the broader guidance and direction role of the Region.

The *Alaska Regional Guide* included two parts, the *Guide* and its FEIS. The *Alaska Regional Guide* contained five chapters and several appendixes. The *Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Alaska Regional Guide* contained a summary of the AMS (Analysis of the Management Situation), Regional Management Direction and Monitoring and Evaluation

Requirements for the Alaska Region and included an appendix with comments from 180 persons or organizations.⁶⁸ With the Chugach forest plans now essentially complete, and the *Regional Guide* in hand, the Alaska Region turned to the task of revising the *Tongass Land Management Plan*.

Evaluation and Revision of the Tongass Land Management Plan

A local review of the Tongass Land Management Plan was initiated on the Stikine Area at the end of 1981. The Stikine expected to complete its revision study either by September 30, 1984, or the following September 30, 1985. The plan for revision involved four steps, respectively to deal with 1) NFMA requirements; 2) Regional Plan direction regarding Forest Plan Standards and Guidelines; 3) ANILCA, Title VII, Section 706 report requirements; and 4) Regional RPA data needs.⁶⁹ This preliminary study, however, was not acted on by the Region, but it did help formulate the need for and interest in revision.

As the Region contemplated revision of the *Tongass Land Management Plan*, the Forest Service nationally became concerned about the quality and consistency of Forest plans among the National Forests. On January 19, 1983, John B. Crowell, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Natural Resources and Environment, informed Chief Max Peterson that he had some reservations concerning "the quality of national forest land management planning." He remarked that he was a strong advocate of "competent economic analysis" in the land management process. He stressed concerns about evaluations and "trade-offs associated with producing alternative levels of the various renewable resources." He had asked Doug MacCleery and John Fedkiw, who had reviewed from 20 to 30 draft forest plans, to discuss with him their observations. They commented that "there had been significant improvements in several aspects of planning." But Crowell concluded that "planning documents need better to describe the analysis process used, the assumptions and constraints implicit in each benchmark and alternative, and include a rigorous comparative evaluation of the significant differences among alternatives and between alternatives and benchmarks."⁷⁰ These concerns were reflected by the planning team selected to begin revision of the Tongass Land Management Plan.

TLMP Evaluation Report, 1984

An evaluation team headed by team leader Rai Behnert, and including Jim Caplan and Lou Merzario

from the Regional Office; Al Collotzi and Mike Johnson from the Chatham Area; Norm Covington and Dick Estelle from the Stikine Area, and Carl Holquin and Joe Thompson from the Ketchikan Area completed the *Tongass Land Management Plan Evaluation Report* in November 1984. According to Rai Behnert, Regional Planning Coordinator, the purpose of this report was to evaluate how TLMP had influenced activities on the Forest since the Plan was implemented and to define how the Plan could be improved. The report formed the basis for the comprehensive amendment of the TLMP.⁷¹

Among the identified changes in the Tongass management situation since the implementation of the Tongass Land Management Plan in 1979, the evaluation report pointed prominently to the new legislation—ANILCA and the National Forest Management Act. ANILCA, within a year of completion of the Tongass management plan, added fourteen of the seventeen proposed wilderness areas to the Tongass (5,453,000 acres). The Admiralty Island and Misty Fiords National Monuments were created on the Tongass. ANILCA directed the Secretary of the Treasury to fund at least \$40 million annually to maintain Tongass timber supply levels at 450 MMBF annually, but not to exceed 4.5 BBF for the decade. While ANILCA, the evaluators concluded, "does not change TLMP directly," it did provide for the funding of the timber management aspect of the Tongass Plan, and directed how the timber management program should be continued when TLMP is revised.⁷²

The TLMP Amendment was also intended to bring the forest plan into "procedural and content conformance" with NFMA, Forest Service, and ANILCA planning requirements which came into existence after the completion of TLMP. The *Alaska Regional Guide* also provided planning directions that did not exist during the preparation of TLMP. Forest conditions had also changed. Windstorms had caused severe damage to disparate areas of the Tongass, pink and coho salmon production had reached historic highs, while chinook, sockeye, and chum salmon production was low. There were changes in population, property holdings, and in the overall state of the Alaska and Southeastern economy. Economic recession gripped the area between 1980 and 1982. There were changes in the fisheries industries, mining, tourism and recreation, power, transportation and labor. The Tongass land management plan needed to account for these changing biological, social and economic conditions.⁷³

TLMP Revision Begins, 1986

Actual work on The Tongass Land Management Plan

revision began in 1986 with the appointment of Win Green as Lead Forest Supervisor and Lou Merzario, Planning Systems Specialist, as interim IDT (Interdisciplinary Team) leader for the revision. The Ketchikan Area Supervisor headed the IDT team, which was based in Juneau. The work plan was targeted for an October, 1986, completion. The work plan had several sections: purpose and objectives, organization, issue statements, actions, resources, planning process criteria, decision criteria and public participation plan.⁷⁴

Once the planning process was approved the planning team began the preparation of draft documents, and initiated public reviews. On August 20, 1987, Don Lyon, who became the Tongass IDT leader, sent copies of "A Citizen's Guide to Revising The Tongass Land Management Plan," to over 6,000 individuals and to every Forest Service employee on the Tongass. He also promised to distribute a series of newsletters reporting progress on the revision.⁷⁵

During an interview with Alaska writers, Lyon described the revision process and progress:

Well, the Forest Service has done planning of one kind or another since it was created by Congress in 1905, but modern highly detailed integrated Forest Plans like TLMP were mandated ... by the National Forest Management Act of 1976 or NFMA.

The Tongass was the first of all the 156 national forests to complete its forest plan, TLMP, in 1979. Each forest's plan must be revised at least every fifteen years according to NFMA, but the Forest Service is targeting for every ten so we can respond to changing public attitudes. We're scheduled to release our draft revision, TLMP II, in December of 1989. Since the Tongass turned out the nation's first forest plan, it will also turn out the nation's first revised forest plan.⁷⁶

Lyon described the planning team as specialists working together. The Interdisciplinary Planning Team approach—seventeen members for this revision—avoided overemphasizing any one resource to the detriment of others, according to Lyon.⁷⁷ The Forest Service and the Region had, through the experiences of the past several decades, become acutely aware that multiple-use and environmental concerns outweighed the traditional emphasis on timber. Forest land management was now seeking to change with changing public attitudes.

As a good team leader, Lyon properly praised his team

members. "Their super human efforts in support of the revision have not gone unnoticed. Sacrifices are being made every day to make the revision the very best Forest Plan it can be."⁷⁸

A large interdisciplinary team prepared the document. Steven A. Brink, an engineer with a degree from the University of California, Davis, became the IDT leader beginning in February 1989 as Don Lyon, who had been the IDT leader from 1987 through January, 1989, was transferred to Portland. At the time of the 1990 report he had 20 years of experience with the agency. Other IDT members were: David Arrasmith, economist/analyst; Norene Blair, writer-editor; Forrest Cole, timber/subsistence coordinator; Judy Coose, administrative assistant; John Day, FORPLAN analyst; Eugene J. DeGayner, resource information manager; Rick Griffen, computer programmer analyst; Steven Kessler, fish biologist; Charles E. McConnell, recreation planner; Connie G. Myers, public affairs specialist/social scientist; Mark L. Orme, wildlife biologist; Rick Perkins, GIS technical, computer assistant; Bruce Rene, natural resource planner and documents coordinator; and Lance H. Tyler, recreation planner. Many others contributed.⁷⁹

The GIS

During the revision process the Alaska Region began to use a new data base and inventory system which greatly enhanced the management of large amounts of technical information. The Geographic Information System (GIS) provided the means of making maps with the computer translating scales and map projections so that land data elements could be evaluated using a variety of layers or kinds of data. Dick Coose, Resource Information Manager, commented on the impact of GIS on forest planning:

When the Tongass Land Management Plan was developed in the late 1970's, we used hard copies of maps and map overlays to show how the Tongass had been managed, was being managed, and would be managed. These maps were, for the most part, drafted by hand. Now through GIS, we can display all or a portion of the information on an electronic screen or a paper map in a very short time....GIS technology ... allows resource personnel time for analysis and thinking rather than manually preparing overlays and dot counting acres.⁸⁰

Don Lyon estimated that, "as much as 85 to 95 percent of the information we're using to build TLMP II is new. Our timber yield tables, our economic tables will be

new, our mapping for *all* resources will be new. Nothing like this has ever existed before on the Tongass.”⁸¹

Planning and the Public

Another factor particularly relevant to the work on the revision of the Tongass Land Management Plan has to do with the growing level of public participation in the development of the plans, and public monitoring of the implementation of Forest plans. Environmentalists, conservationists, sports associations, tourist interests, timber related organizations, fisheries associations, Native corporations, and tribal governments, not to mention Congress and the courts, have a decided impact on planning and the conduct of operations on the Chugach and Tongass National Forests in Alaska. Environmental/conservation groups and organizations were particularly involved in Alaska Forest management decisions and in the TLMP revision process during the decade of the 1980s. The review and public criticism of the Tongass Land Management Plan contributed to the formulation of new legislation, the Tongass Timber Reform Act, approved by Congress in 1990, which revised ANILCA.

New organizations and governmental entities were formed for the purpose of participating in Alaska National Forest management and planning processes. The developing infrastructure of the Alaska State government contributed to improved relations and better means of accommodating problems and issues of public concern. In 1981 Alaska State Legislature established a group called the Citizens' Advisory Commission on Federal Areas. It had two major emphases: ANILCA implementation and citizen's complaints. The Advisory Commission became a conduit for channeling public interests and concerns into the Forest Service planning processes.⁸²

In addition, on October 24, 1984, Alaska Governor Bill Sheffield signed an administrative order establishing the Alaska Timber Task Force, to look at the problems facing the timber industry in Alaska. The Task Force, composed of 14 members, was to report back by December 15 with both short-term and long-term recommendations. The Task Force found a warm reception among Alaskans, particularly those related to the timber industry, but it also stirred the ire of fish and wildlife interests. Executive Director Bart Koehler of the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council said that the Task Force “should be immediately disbanded before it turns into a boondoggle and gets completely out of hand.” Koehler attacked the recommendation to cut more timber for non-resident jobs at the expense of salmon and deer used by local residents.⁸³

The Southeast Conference is an Alaska organization comprising local elected officials, business leaders and community members representing southeast Alaska. In March 1989 the Southeast Conference sent a Tongass National Forest Policy “Position” to Regional Forester Barton. Its mission was to build and maintain a stable, diversified economy that provides for an improved standard of living, quality employment, and business development opportunities for the people of Southeast Alaska through the prudent use of resources.⁸⁴

An organization of long standing and strong community support, the Conference adopted a resolution (#87-2) on May 8, 1987, which was submitted to and made a record of the hearings on the Tongass Timber Reform Act later that month. It requested hearings on H.R. 1516 in southeast Alaska and opposed amendments to section 705 of ANILCA which would “cause imbalance” in providing a timber supply sufficient to maintain employment in the forest industry. The Conference believed it critical to the interests of Southeast Alaska that the Tongass National Forest be managed in accordance with the Tongass Land Management Plan and federal law.⁸⁵

During the 1980s, and in the process of planning and revising forest and Regional plans, the Alaska Region became more aware of the many divergent interests using forest resources. Planning became a continuing part of National Forest management. Multiple-use and balanced programs became the byword of forest management. The words were not always reflected by action, certainly not in the eyes of the Forest Service's many and increasingly strident critics. And it was true throughout the 1980s, that despite the growing consciousness and attempts to accommodate the many diverse users, in the view of its diverse critics the Tongass National Forest continued to be largely “driven” by its long-term timber contracts.

For example, the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, a “grassroots coalition of 13 conservation groups located in 11 communities through the southeast Alaska Region,” claimed that the 450 million board foot annual allowable cut on the Tongass approved by ANILCA had an adverse effect on wildlife.⁸⁶ As Bart Koehler, SEACC Executive director argued that under ANILCA the Forest Service was really serving special interests rather than the public interests:

... SEACC and the Forest Service have near opposite ideas of “the public interest.” Koehler said “special interests” were typically those with a private monetary interest in the public forest,

whereas “public interests,” are generally concerned with public goods and services, and amenity values.⁸⁷

Similarly, Joseph R. Mehrkens, a former employee of the Forest Service, speaking in behalf of the Sierra Club in public hearings on the proposed Tongass Timber Reform Act, criticized the Region’s long-term timber contracts and the Tongass’s annual cutting budget of 450 million board feet of timber. He supported the growth of nontimber industries, such as fisheries, argued that more timber companies should be provided access to National Forest timber on a competitive basis, and that areas needed for subsistence be removed from the timber base.⁸⁸ As Mehrkens explained “...legislation and mandated timber cut has removed the flexibility of the Forest Service to manage the forest in light of changing conditions.” He also said that the TLMP of 1979 was partly the cause of the problem since it was accelerated past the point of a sound analytic foundation. He wanted the situation returned to the local arena “where citizens could work with the Forest Service in a new public involvement effort ...”⁸⁹

The National Wildlife Federation (represented by Frances A Hunt, Forest Resource Specialist), at a 1989 hearing called for five steps to be taken on the Tongass National Forest. These were to fund timber management activities on the forest on an annual basis, require the identification of lands not suitable for timber production, express the impacts of timber management on wildlife and fisheries habitat, to terminate the 50-year timber contracts, and to designate 23 areas as wilderness. He further stated that logging and/or the reduction of old-growth forests was detrimental to several species of wildlife and the bald eagle.⁹⁰

Matt Kirchoff, a research biologist with the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, represented the Alaska Chapter of the Wildlife Society at a 1989 hearing. He expressed the opinion that even logging ten percent of the old growth timber stands on the Tongass under the mandates of ANILCA would not preserve the “future wildlife diversity and abundance on the Tongass.”⁹¹ Thomas Franklin, the Wildlife Society’s Field Director, in a 1988 hearing expressed the same concerns for wildlife populations if logging of old-growth timber continued.⁹²

Gaylord Nelson, a counselor for the Wilderness Society testified concerning management of the Tongass in a 1987 hearing, attacking the status quo of management and timber harvesting in both economic and environmental terms:

Excessive logging and roadbuilding on the Tongass are destroying an ecosystem of incalculable value—one of the last largely intact rain forests in the world’s temperate latitudes. Moreover, the federal government is wasting tens of millions of taxpayer dollars each year on a timber sales program that cannot accomplish its stated goal of preserving timber industry jobs.⁹³

Later, Steven Richardson, the senior counsel for The Wilderness Society, appeared before a 1988 hearing concerning management of the Tongass National Forest. He stated, that based on a 2-year study, the Society favored canceling the long-term timber sale contracts on the Tongass National Forest. He contended that the long-term contracts provided a natural monopoly for the contract holders.⁹⁴

Joseph R. Mehrkens also testified in 1988 hearings for The Wilderness Society:

It is expected that the Forest Service will continue the struggle to preserve its ANILCA entitlement. Under such circumstances, the agency’s promise to save the Tongass through the planning process is not persuasive. The real challenge is to return the Tongass to the same land management standards and budget process that governs the rest of the National Forest System.⁹⁵

The Public Participation Process for Land Management Decisions

One of the most significant changes in forest planning and management processes that has occurred since the 1960s, relates to public involvement and participation. Planning and final decisions are no longer the result of in-house, Forest Service deliberations. Public participation has been legislated and “codified” by Forest Service regulations. The primary purpose of public participation is to broaden the information base upon which planning decisions are made. Public participation is required to be issue-oriented. This public participation for National Forest planning involves the discovery and discussion of issues, concerns and opportunities which are formulated by public comments, concerns of line and staff officers on each National Forest and national concerns from the National Forest Management Act (NFMA). Public meetings are a cornerstone of this process. Mailings to interested parties are also used. A list of public issues is formulated and evaluated. At each stage in the planning process the public is consulted and comments recorded. As is true with other aspects of land management in Alaska, even the process of seeking out and

involving the Alaskan public can take different twists and turns than in the lower 48. Don Lyon, the Interdisciplinary Team (IDT) leader for the *Tongass Land Management Plan* pointed to some of the unique aspects of involving the Alaska public:

We're required by NFMA to actively solicit public involvement in the planning process. The Tongass has a few unique problems in getting that public involvement: What other national forest has so many small fishing and logging communities living right in the forest? And when we go there to get comments or hold hearings, we don't get in a car and drive. We've got to get in an airplane or on a boat. So just to get out and visit with our clientele is a little tougher job.

We've got three distinct publics we're talking to. First we've got the people in these little communities that live right in the National Forest—not adjacent to, but actually *in*, so anything we do influences their life. We've got the more urban people in southeast Alaska that are strongly concerned about what we're doing. And then we've got the rest of Alaska and the Lower United States.⁹⁶

The planning process in the Alaska Region is a continuing and often frustrating process. The evolution of the more formalized land use planning imposed by RPA and NFMA, and affected by NEPA, ESA and other national legislation, and further affected by the special Alaska legislation—Statehood, ANCSA, ANILCA, and TTRA—are a challenge to Forest Service professionals in Alaska. *Tongass Land Management Plan* and the *Chugach Land and Resource Management Plan* are evolving documents. Forest planning has become an on-going process. Despite the problems, by 1990 the Region seemed to be nearing completion of the TLMP revision.

The TLMP Draft Revision EIS Is Issued

The *Tongass Land Management Plan Revision Draft Environmental Impact Statement* (in several documents)⁹⁷ was issued in June 1990. The appendices were hugely documented. The cost of the work was estimated to be equally great. By 1989, according to a statement by Frank H. Murkowski, Senator from Alaska, the *Tongass Land Management Plan Revision* had cost over \$6 million.⁹⁸

The revised TLMP included a *Cooperative Fisheries Planning Status Report, Draft*, and it refined land use

designations with specific "management area prescriptions":

LUD Proposed Revision Management Area Prescription

I	Wilderness Research Natural Areas Primitive Recreation Wild Rivers	National Monument Wilderness National Monument Nonwilderness Minerals (on valid claims) Scenic Rivers
II	Research Natural Areas Primitive Recreation Minerals Special Areas Scenic Rivers	Old-Growth Habitat Beach Fringe and Estuary Enacted Municipal Watersheds Wild Rivers Recreation Rivers
III	Old-Growth Habitat Experimental Forest Semi-Primitive Recreation Visual-Timber Timber Production Stream and Lake Protection Recreation Rivers	Beach Fringe and Estuary Scenic Watershed Scenic Viewshed Roaded Natural/Rural Recreation Minerals Scenic Rivers
IV	Old-Growth Habitat Experimental Forest Scenic Viewshed Timber Production Stream and Lake Protection ⁹⁹	Beach Fringe and Estuary Roaded Natural/Rural Recreation Visual-Timber Stream and Lake Protection

Following release of the draft revision, a new round of public hearings and internal reviews began. Concurrently, new Congressional mandates effected through the Tongass Timber Reform Act changed management conditions on the Tongass. Work began on revising the draft TLMP Revision. And work on the revision continued as deadlines for completion were extended, first to 1992 and then into 1996.

One consequence of the growing environmental awareness that characterized the 1970s and 1980s, was in fact a broader and better understanding of Forest resources as an integral part of the ecosystem. This awareness and knowledge began to be translated into ecosystem management, which by 1990 was becoming a new element in National Forest management and planning.

The Ecology Program and Forest Planning

Although Region 10 created ecology as a staff position in the 1980s, the integration of ecology into planning and forest management proceeded slowly. In December 1988, the Regional Office sent a Memorandum to forest supervisors, staff directors and project leaders

discussing ramifications of ecology in R-10 procedures. In January 1989, in order to "more effectively integrate ecological concepts and practices into the management of National Forest lands in the Alaska Region," Region 10 established an Ecology Program. Regional Forester Mike Barton appointed an interdisciplinary ecology steering committee to assist in developing an ecological classification system of all national forest lands in the Alaska Region, to provide leadership in developing and maintaining a data base of ecological information and to provide natural resource managers and specialists with training in the use of ecological classification, data bases and interpretations.¹⁰⁰ The Ketchikan Area was the first forest to create an ecology planning team. Under the tutelage of Bill Dougan, assistant Forest Silviculturist, the Chatham Area began incorporating ecosystem management as a part of the timber sale process about 1991. Ecosystem management only began to figure prominently in the affairs of the Region in the mid-1990s.¹⁰¹

By 1989, the Forest Service had come to think of forest planning as a three-tiered process. In very general terms, forest planning, and the published products of that planning is performed at three geographic levels. At the local level forest land and resource management plans are prepared for each National Forest. Over time Region 10 adopted a number of planning principles which were generally incorporated in its forest plans. Those principles included such considerations as following multiple-use and sustained yield objectives, being aware of the relative values of renewable resources and the relationship of non-renewable to renewable resources, and recognizing that the National Forests are ecosystems and their management requires an awareness and consideration of the interrelationships among plants, animals, soil, water, air and other environmental factors. The Alaska Region was particularly concerned with the protection of the historic, cultural and natural heritage of Alaska and the preservation of the cultural and religious rights of Native peoples. The Region developed a systematic, interdisciplinary approach to management and planning, institutionalized public participation into the planning process, and learned to be increasingly sensitive to the changing conditions of the land, and the changing social and economic demands of the people.¹⁰²

In addition to its Forest plans, each Region must develop a regional guide. The one must conform to the other. Nationally, the Forest Service conducts RPA Assessments and creates programs relating to both public and private lands. Regional guides served as an interface between the RPA program and the forest plans. The program direction statements in the guides

"guide the forest plan amendment and revision process." National guidance in regional plans derives largely from directives in the RPA and NFMA documents.¹⁰³

On the National Forest level land allocation planning is a multi-tiered process. Four planning levels each produce a "plan" or guide. Level one, representing variously the Regional or Area Guide, describes overall directions and **how** Forest Service responsibilities and mandates are to be implemented. Level two is represented by the forest land management plan. The TLMP and Chugach plans are level-two land allocation documents. They discuss **where** land use opportunities are available. Level-three management area plans define "how planned management activities and uses associated with allocated areas" are to be coordinated and controlled. Finally, project plans guide the use of site specific lands within management areas. Examples of projects are "a timber sale, construction of a campground, or installation of fisheries structures in a stream."¹⁰⁴

Planning continued to be a major thrust of Alaska Forest management in the decade of the Nineties. Although the Region had extended the completion date for the Tongass Land Management Plan to late 1992, in March of the following year the Regional Forester announced that the issue date would be delayed for at least another six months. Regional spokesman Gary Lidholm said the delay would allow agency personnel to review the biology and economics of logging on the Tongass. The delay followed the rather strong accusations in the press that the Region was suppressing information about timber and wildlife management. In addition, a story carried in the Anchorage Daily News quoting a source from Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants of Portland, Oregon, referring to "below cost timber sales," said that no National Forest lost more money than the Tongass in Fiscal Year 1992. The numbers used, of course, were highly arguable, but the public tended to accept the charges.¹⁰⁵ In addition, a new Democratic administration assumed office in the nation's capitol in January 1993, one with strong proclivities to encourage wilderness preservation and reduce timber production on the National Forests. Finally, as Steve Kessler, assistant (IDT) team leader for Tongass planning explained, the normal desire of forest planners is to try to achieve "a final, completed, bullet-proof plan that will last for the next ten years." Delaying the issue date, it was hoped would help achieve that objective." Kessler noted, however, "That's obviously not going to happen. Both the NFMA process and NEPA very much allow for an ongoing amendment kind

of approach to management.”¹⁰⁶ Although most of those involved in the planning process agree that some “closure” is necessary, and that planning documents are not in themselves open-ended, planning is an ongoing process responsive to changing needs and conditions.

The Alaska Region learned through experience and through its own internal critique of its planning processes conducted in 1990, that there are at least nine precepts which help make the planning process successful. Forest management planning must integrate and balance resources, communicate a clear vision, recognize realistic limits, seek informed consent, be complete within a reasonable time (planning requires a closure), and be oriented toward people. Planning must be actively led by line officers. Analyses and data must be relevant to the issues or questions at hand. Finally, planning must be locally oriented and nationally balanced.¹⁰⁷ Planning, of course, is a beginning. Implementation of the plan, and monitoring are critical elements of effective forest resource management. Tongass and Chugach forest planning in the decade of the 1980s brought into sharp focus the reality that the uses of Alaska forest resources were changing rapidly.

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Chapter VIII

Multiple-Use: A Changing Mix

Robert Loescher, Senior Vice-President of Sealaska Corporation and at times an outspoken critic of the Forest Service, called the Tongass Land Management Plan revision work "the single most important administrative action that the government will take for decades. This is so," he said, "because if done accurately and comprehensively, the plan will assure integrated resource management and will display all resource objectives, forest management practices, and costs/benefits of management in one planning document."¹ While arguing the significance of integrated resource management, Loescher believed that the Region had failed to give sufficient weight in its forest planning to subsistence. Others argued that wildlife was slighted, fisheries neglected, the timber industry imperiled, and recreation and tourism overlooked. Wilderness advocates would preclude all consumptive uses of forest resources. Multiple use meant that no one use should impair another's use of forest resources, while providing everyone some use of forest resources. The Multiple Use and Sustained Yield Act of 1960 "authorized and directed (the Secretary of Agriculture) to develop and administer the renewable surface resources of the National Forests for multiple use and sustained yield of the several products and services obtained therefrom...." The Act defined multiple use as "the management of all the various renewable surface resources of the National Forests so that they are utilized in the combination that will best meet the needs of the American people." Sustained yield meant to achieve and maintain in perpetuity "a high-level annual or regular periodic output of the various renewable resources of the National Forests without impairment of the productivity of the land."²

Within the seemingly simple context of multiple-use and sustained yields lies the vast, negotiable, and litigious grey area where the Forest Service, Congress, the State of Alaska and the American people determine what represents the combination of uses that best meets the needs of the American people (at that particular point in time), and at what point certain uses may impair the productivity of the land. The resources, the use of resources, and the priorities assigned resource uses by the American people (and by Congress) change. And all of those changing uses and all of those resources are commingled and interrelated. Forest management planning, always a complex business, became more so in the decade of the 1980s as the socio-economic conditions in Alaska and in the nation at large changed and as the priorities and preferences of the Alaskans and the American people shifted.

The long-term timber contracts continued to provide a focus for the work and operations of the Forest Service. Timber harvests seemingly continued to be the dominant use of forest resources in the Region, and increasingly seemed to impair other users. To be sure, timber harvests declined sharply between 1982 and 1987, in company with a national building recession. Production of timber from Native lands, once formerly a part of the National Forests, however, rose rapidly even as timber prices declined. Fishing, on the other hand, improved markedly during the decade, with higher prices and larger harvests. And mining, almost defunct on National Forest lands, again became a vital ingredient in the Region's planning. Concurrently, petroleum prices and royalties to the state began a steady, but not threatening decline. The distribution of National Forest lands prescribed under the Alaska Statehood Act, and under ANCSA continued at a quickening pace. And subsistence, prescribed by ANILCA and by the Alaska constitution, became a greater issue in determining the uses of National Forest resources. During the same period tourism and recreational uses of the National Forests in Alaska expanded sharply. The Alaska "visitor industry" as it came to be known, achieved an identity.

The National Forests: Recreation and the Visitor Industry

"Tourists are *finding* Alaska in ever increasing numbers," Everett R. Doman noted in his 1972 inspection of the Alaska Region. With the increase in tourism has come "much increased public interest in fish and wildlife of all kinds."³ The Chugach National Forest, and increasingly the Tongass National Forest, became visitor oriented. It was not always so.

In 1972, inspectors found the Region deficient in its Information and Educational (I & E) programs, and Visitor Information Services (VIS). They concluded that performance "has been casual, reaching essentially only to those groups with whom the Forest had long-standing relationships" such as local sportsmen, loggers and fishermen associations. Those visitor and informational programs that did exist seem to have stemmed from compulsions provided by multiple-use planning, and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). "The Forest, and the Region as well, has been in a defensive I & E posture, responding heavily to brush fires, but neglecting presuppression activities." There were no Forest-level Information and Education plans, no visitor planning, and no environmental education plans or programs. Over the past five years (1967-1972), the Tongass spent its entire visitor information

budget (approximately \$32K annually) on the Chatham Ranger District and Mendenhall Glacier Visitor Center near Juneau. There were no formal visitor information services on the Sitka, Petersburg, or Wrangell Ranger Districts. Ketchikan utilized a mobile visitor center (loaned to the Sitka area in 1972), but it had questionable value the inspectors thought. The Forest (and the Region) received low scores on I & E (information and education) work including as it related to current news, public involvement, conservation activities, visitor services, and environmental education.⁴ Over the next two decades the Alaska Region moved from a largely passive role in information, education, and visitor services to a very conscious, planned, and aggressive position that materially enhanced visitor and recreational uses of the Alaska National Forests.

Before Statehood, the Forest Service generally allowed unrestricted recreational and subsistence use of the National Forests, subject only to federal game and fish regulations. In the 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) constructed some trails, cabins, and campgrounds for recreational purposes. CCC personnel were quite often the primary users of the facilities. The Forest Service did not attempt any real surveillance or control, or inventory of recreational users. Before World War II, recreational use was relatively minor and tourists rare. Sometimes after World War II the Forest Service attempted to accommodate recreational uses by military personnel and by Alaska residents stationed in or living near forest areas. A few picnic grounds and camping areas were maintained near the larger towns such as Anchorage and Juneau, and the Forest Service made cabins on National Forest lands and some newly constructed by the Forest Service available for public use without charge. Recreation, viewing, and sports use of forest lands, however, was greatly inhibited by the lack of roads and access.⁵

Roads and Recreation

In 1950, during the administration of Regional Forester Frank Heintzleman, the Forest Service began building roads on the Chugach National Forest for the primary purpose of facilitating recreational visits to the forest. A rough, but improved rock road constructed from Anchorage around Turnagain Arm to Seward, with a branch running due west to Homer (now Alaska Highways 1 [the Sterling Highway] and Highway 9 [the Seward Highway] was completed in 1951. Arthur W. Greeley, who succeeded Heintzleman as Regional Forester in 1953, planned additional forest highways for both the Chugach and the Tongass. Under Pete Hanson's direction (1956-1963) the Region was able to complete additional roads serving the growing urban

recreational needs of Anchorage and Juneau, and recreation became a regular component of the Region's forest management.⁶

The long-term timber contracts and the drive to Statehood encouraged and facilitated the expansion of roads and recreational opportunities. The Forest Service completed the Portage Glacier Highway, and the Hope Road relocation on the south side of Turnagain Arm before 1960. The Region also initiated the development of a comprehensive road system (with interconnecting ferries) for southeast Alaska that would link the Southeast with the Alcan Highway through Ketchikan northward along the west side of Prince of Wales Island, through Kupreanof Island, along the west coast of Admiralty Island, and on the west side of the Lynn Canal to Haines.⁷ The Mitkof Highway eastward from Petersburg toward the Stikine River, the Sitka-Henry Cove Road, and selected timber roads on Prince of Wales Island were anticipated to become part of the inland road system. That system, as previously mentioned, never came to be. It was effectively terminated by the approval of the wilderness and monument areas created under ANILCA. Nevertheless, there was a very strong correlation between road building by the Forest Service, and the expansion of recreational opportunities on the National Forests.

The Recreational Cabin Program

One of the oldest and most successful recreation programs in Region 10 has been the "Cabin Program." Beginning with open permits for public utilization of existing cabins and shelters in the forests in the 1950s and 1960s, the program became a "program" in the 1970s when the Forest Service began a fee system for use of the cabins, and dedicated the fees to cabin maintenance and construction. In 1975 the Chugach National Forest and the Tongass began charging a \$5 per night use fee for its 33 public recreation cabins, on a first come-first service basis. The Region also imposed a \$1 per night campground fee, exempted for more remote campgrounds. Chugach Supervisor Beal explained that while the Kenai cabins were always heavily booked during the summer months, cabins in eastern Prince William Sound and on Afognak Island near Kodiak were generally available. Almost all of the cabins were remote, accessible only by trail or boat, with many of those on the Tongass National Forest accessible only by float plane.⁸

Older cabins and shelters were replaced over the years as funds became available. Standard recreational cabins were usually of three types, an A-frame with a second floor sleeping loft that could sleep seven

people; and plywood or Pan-Abode cabins that usually accommodated four people. Each cabin contained tables, benches and plywood bunks without mattresses or bedding. Heating, if available, was by wood stove—an axe was provided. There was no running water; users could run to outdoor toilets, and garbage was to be packed out.⁹

District Rangers provided maintenance and general oversight of the cabins within their districts. Summer Youth Conservation Corps campers also helped with trail, campground and cabin maintenance. In 1982, impelled by the popularity of the program and the rising costs associated with it, the Region raised cabin fees from \$5 to \$10 per night. Five years later, in 1987, fees were raised again to \$15 per night. A study conducted by the Region indicated that actual costs to fully maintain a cabin were \$27.50 per day, while fees charged for comparable private cabins in or near the forests ranged from \$10 to \$165 per night with most in the \$25 to \$50 range. In that year the Region operated some 184 recreational cabins, and began the construction of six more which were completed by the following summer season. The Region also began a computerized reservation system with reservation capabilities at the Supervisor's Offices in Ketchikan, Sitka, and Anchorage, and at the Forest Service Information Center in Centennial Hall in Juneau, or at the Ranger District Offices in Petersburg, Wrangell, Sitka, Craig, Ketchikan, Juneau, Cordova, Girdwood, and Seward, and Thorne Bay. Some years later occupancy fees were raised to \$20 per night (and then again to \$25) with most cabins completely filled for the summer season and many being occupied in the winter months.¹⁰ The first "visitor" center on any National Forest was built on the Tongass in 1962.

Mendenhall Glacier Visitor Center

Mendenhall Glacier, located near Juneau on the Tongass National Forest, is one of the most accessible and spectacular "rivers of ice" in Alaska. Since 1750, the glacier, originally called "Auk" glacier by John Muir after a local Tlingit Indian village, has been receding at the rate of 25-30 feet per year. In 1892 the glacier was officially named for Thomas C. Mendenhall, Superintendent of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. Statehood, and the growth of the state's capitol city, aroused widespread interest in Mendenhall Glacier, and resulted in the completion of a new Glacier Highway from Juneau, and the construction in 1962 of the Mendenhall Glacier Visitor Center, the first Forest Service visitor center in the nation. Mendenhall Glacier is the third most visited attraction in Alaska. Planned for some 30,000 visitors annually, visitation to the center has

climbed to in excess of 200,000 annually. The Alaska Natural History Association assists in the operation of the Mendenhall Center by providing interpretive sales and services. That cooperation has been extended to other centers and sites in the National Forests. The Mendenhall Glacier Visitors Center marked the first significant venture by the Region into a public information-visitor type complex.

The rapid growth of tourism and visitation to Alaska in the 1970s, most of that by cruise ship and state ferry via the inland passage and through the Tongass National Forest, brought outbursts of public concern about clearcutting and logging practices. In some cases tourists mistook natural blowdowns and slides for mining and clearcutting. The problem here, Lawrence Rakestraw suggested, "was the failure of the Forest Service to adopt an interpretive program appropriate to the changing American society—urbanized, with leisure time for recreation, and conditioned to the 'hard sell.'" The Forest Service had failed to publicize its aims and accomplishments.¹¹ The very large influx of visitors into the Tongass aboard the recently established Alaska Marine Highway offered both a need and an opportunity.

A 1978 study completed for the Region by the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the University of Alaska indicated that approximately 80% of visitors coming to Southeast Alaska came by water, most of these by cruise ships, many by State-operated ferries. In 1977 40,000 visitors came by way of the Alaska Marine Highway System, and 62,500 aboard cruise ships. The number of cruises scheduled into Alaska ports rose from 43 in 1973 to 152 in 1977. Traffic on the Marine Highway rose by approximately 44 percent for vehicles and 62 percent for passengers between 1970 and 1975. The impact of these visitors on land resources is small, while "the effects of land developments on tourists may be great." Since most tourists enter the area by sea, "the quality of the viewshed through which they pass will have direct impact on the quality of their overall experience." The study concluded that there had been and would be conflict between growing recreational demands and the more traditional timber harvest and mineral development. "The key to effective land management" lay in the "extent to which a desirable mix of recreational opportunities" could be achieved without "greatly impeding the desires and needs of local residents for the maintenance of their lifestyles and the region's economic viability."¹² One of the Region's first structured Information and Educational programs directly serviced the growing visitor industry, and provided the Forest

Service with a good sense of the changing tide of public interests.

The Tongass Marine Highway Shipboard Interpretive Program

D. Robert Hakala, a naturalist and Visitor Information Specialist who came to Region 10 with previous National Park experience, developed a plan to assign interpreters to State ferries plying the waters of the Tongass. The ferry would become a "floating visitor center." The Alaska Department of Marine Transportation agreed to co-sponsor the interpretive program, and the Forest Service, the Alaska Department of Fish & Game, and other state agencies provided training, and films and literature for the programs, first implemented in 1967.¹³

The programs proved tremendously popular and effective, and flourished. The Forest Service began maintaining an onboard Forest Interpreter Station on the ferries, with the interpreter presenting scheduled shipboard programs, being available for information, and initiating informal contacts with ferry passengers. Programming and staffing generally coincided with the peak tourist and travel season, June 1 through Labor Day.

As a sample of its services, for its 25th year of operation (1988), James S. Cochrane, Director of Recreation, Subsistence and Cultural Resources for the Region, reported that interpreters staffed the four mainline vessels of the Alaska Marine Highway system in the Southeast and made presentations to some 183,000 travelers. There were special "community introduction" programs, natural and cultural history talks, slide shows, movies, children's programs and guided tours. Guest lecturers included people such as Jennifer Brady, who gave demonstrations and talks on totem restorations and Native art. Clay Alderson talked about the Klondike gold rush; Janice Means, an anthropologist, discussed petroglyphs, and Charles Jurasz gave programs on humpback whale research. Dave Jensen, a Tlingit artist, gave talks and demonstrations of Native art, and various Juneau Ranger District staffers gave programs on the glaciers and Juneau Icefield. Neil Hagadorn and Jim Case gave special programs for a national conference of Regional Foresters and Directors traveling aboard the ferries for a meeting in Juneau, and for a small group of officers with the Society of American Foresters who spent several weeks in the Region.¹⁴

While the interpretive programs were greatly appreciated and applauded by travelers, a sampling of comments provided a good indication of the public's "state

of mind" regarding Forest Service timber operations in Alaska:

"Why is there so much clearcutting?"

"Why can't the timber industry buy their own lands and grow their own timber and leave the National Forests and Parks as they are?"

"Your FS interpreter gave us a lot of misinformation on our cruise. He told us that you had a sustained-yield policy which is of course a falsehood."

"Why are we cutting original trees...to send them to Japan?"

"Please send information about the various recreation facilities and areas in the Tongass...."

"We want information on camping locations in the National Forest."

"Why are there not more cabins along the water line for people with boats."

"Why are there so few birds in Skagway?"

"How many wolves are in the Tongass National Forest?"¹⁵

If the public questions and responses to the Marine Highway Visitor Program were any indication, Alaska's visitors were much less concerned about timber production, and much more concerned about recreation and viewing scenery and wildlife.

Perhaps one of the most important functions of the interpretive services provided by the Forest Service aboard the State ferries was to enable the Forest Service to better find the pulse of the general public who visited the National Forests. During the 1980s, the Region extended its interpretive services on a cooperative basis to cruise lines—both in the manner of providing interpreters and guides for shore or ship programs, and by providing training for the cruise ship's public relations staff. The Region also began to aggressively develop and market the recreational uses of its forest resources. The Chugach, in part as a result of the rapid growth of the Anchorage metropolitan area, and because of its very marginal commercial timber base, led in developing its profile as a recreation and wildlife forest.

The Chugach: A Recreational and Wildlife Forest

When the opportunity offered, Bruce Van Zee took the job as Supervisor of the Chugach National Forest "because he had never been to Alaska, and always wanted to go." He, as have many others came and stayed. Most people come for much the same reason, but only to visit, and then leave. A lot of tourists come to Alaska Van Zee observed, but do not understand

what they see. The Chugach is "heavy" on wildlife and recreation. Timber production is very marginal, especially since ANILCA. Good timber tracts remaining on the Chugach were taken under Statehood, ANCSA and ANILCA settlements. What is left is a National Forest with spectacular scenic values, and "watchable" wildlife (ranging from shorebirds and waterfowl to Dall sheep and Beluga whales) living in a defacto wilderness. A major role of the forester on the Chugach National Forest is to "enable and encourage visitors to experience the mystique of the Chugach's incomparable beauty, wildlife, fisheries, and other resources."¹⁶

Described in the Region's literature as "A Forest Born of Ice," one of the most prominent features of the Chugach is the Kenai Peninsula "Southcentral Alaska's Playground," and a "place of almost unlimited opportunities" for the angler, hiker, hunter, skier, biker and wildlife viewer. Prince William Sound, accessible by boat, and by rail from Portage through Whittier and by road through Valdez, offers 3,500 miles of shoreline and "three million acres of forest and alpine beauty. ...Hunting, fishing, sightseeing and solitude are world class." It is a spectacular land of ice and glaciers. The even more isolated Copper River Delta, "A World-Class Wetland, ...is one of the world's most productive bird habitats."¹⁷

Susan Rutherford, Recreation Staff Officer on the Chugach and an avid outdoorsman, describes the Copper River Delta as "the largest wetland in the entire western hemisphere." With a degree in forest hydrology, and previous experience in wilderness and trails management, and a stint in the Washington Office, she was attracted to the Chugach National Forest because she had always wanted to work in Alaska and because it is a "recreation forest." The size and scale of the landscape is awesome. There is nothing to compare to the unique experience of kayaking with the rains, the winds, and the high tides of the Southeastern and Southcentral coasts of Alaska. Alaska is a different experience. While Alaska is different, she explains, the difference cannot be used as an excuse or an escape. Drawing from her extensive computer (Project 615) experience, Rutherford describes viewing and recreational uses as the "soft" side of forestry, and timber and minerals as the "hard" side of forestry. She describes the Chugach as a more urban forest, a cosmopolitan forest where one works more closely with other governing entities, including the State, the Bureau of Land Management, National Park Service, and tribal governments. Even the Ranger on the Seward Ranger District, she pointed out, works closely and personally with the State and Federal agencies.¹⁸

Rutherford explained that it was not coincidental that the Chugach National Forest was a premier recreational forest, and that the world's largest recreational vehicle dealer happened to be located in Anchorage. One of the primary missions of the Forest is to maintain a diversity of recreation uses. In doing so the Forest has moved to more partnership associations with small businesses and with Native tribes.¹⁹

Such partnerships include one with the Kenaitze Indian Tribe for interpreting and protecting cultural heritage sites on the Seward Ranger District. The Forest also participates in the Alaska Intertribal Youth Practicum, the Chugach Region elder-youth conference, and maintains (as does the Tongass) a Tribal Government Liaison Officer. In recent years, Fred Clark, the Liaison Officer, has been busy cementing partnerships between the Forest Service and Native tribes such as the Chugachmuit, Eyak, Dena'ina Athabaskan Indians, and Alutiiq Eskimos.²⁰

John Foss, the Native liaison officer for the Region who is an Athabaskan Indian of the Tukluk clan, a veteran, and graduate of the University of Montana helped develop the job description for the liaison position. The position seeks to help the Forest Service build bridges to the Native governments, to be sensitive to cultural and religious issues, and assist the tribal governments (and the ANCSA corporations which are a separate entity from the tribes) become better stewards of the land. In 1994 there were twenty-four Federally recognized tribal governments on or near the Tongass and Chugach National Forests:

CHUGACH NATIONAL FOREST

Native Village of Chanega (Chenega)
Native Village of Eyak (Cordova)
Kenaitze Indian Tribe
Knik Village
Ninilchik Village
Native Village of Tatilek

TONGASS NATIONAL FOREST

Ketchikan Area

Klawock Cooperative Association
Craig Community Association
Hydaburg Cooperative Association
Organized Village of Kasaan
Ketchikan Indian Corporation
Metlakatla Indian Community, Annette
Island Reserve
Organized Village of Saxman

Stikine Area

Organized Village of Kake
Petersburg Indian Association

Wrangell Cooperative Association
Chatham Area

Angoon Community Association
Chilkoot Indian Village (Haines)
Douglas Indian Association
Hoonah Indian Association
Chilkat Indian Village (Klukwan)
Sitka Tribe of Alaska
Skagway Village
Yakutat Tlingit Tribe

[Source: John Foss, Tribal Liaison Officer, Region 10]

Nels Lawson, the Tribal Liaison officer for the Chatham Area, describes the "Memorandum of Understanding" which the Forest Service seeks to negotiate with each tribe as a "handshake agreement" between the Forest Service and tribal governments.²¹ The tribal governments and the ANCSA corporations, in cooperation with the State and the Forest Service, have a developing role in promoting recreational and tourist activities in the Region. The National Forests, the State, and private interests also cooperate in the development of such facilities as the Alyeska Ski Resort, and the sponsorship of events such as the Iditarod sled race. The Portage Visitor Center, and the Alyeska Ski resort are two of the preeminent visitor destinations in the Chugach National Forest, while the Iditarod has become an Alaska classic.

The Alyeska Ski Resort and the Iditarod

Downhill skiing became a post World-War II recreational phenomenon in Alaska, as it did in the lower 48. By 1970 the Alyeska Ski Resort, originally located on the Chugach National Forest and later on adjoining state and private property, had become Anchorage's most popular ski area. Operators added a third chair lift to the slopes in 1974, and provided lights for nighttime skiing. The Resort was purchased by Japanese-owned Seibu Corporation and the summit house was expanded and a restaurant added providing year around skiers a spectacular view. Additional expansions were made in 1988.²² In 1993 the State acquired the ski areas from the Forest Service under the Statehood land selection processes, and the owners began the construction of a hotel-resort scheduled for completion in 1995. Two Olympic medalists trained on the Alyeska slopes: Hilary Lindh of Juneau who won the silver medal for the downhill in 1992, and Tommy Moe who won the gold in 1993.

Winter sports activities expanded rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s. Snowmobiling and cross country skiing became increasingly popular. "Anchorage area residents are snowmobiling and skiing all over the forest.

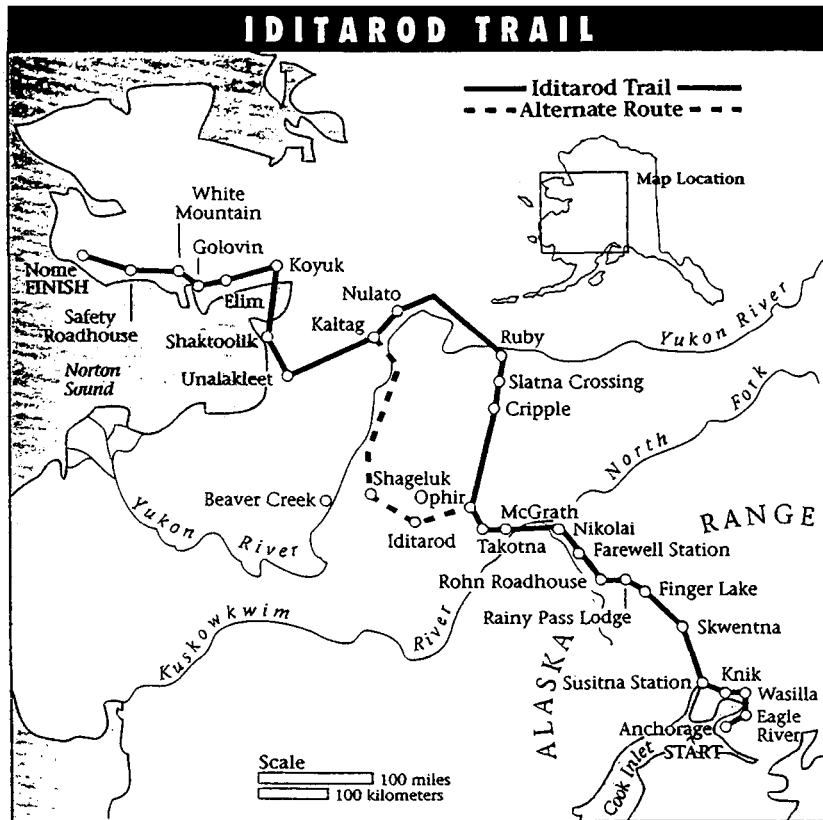
Some are even tenting." In a sense the Chugach became as much a winter playground for local residents, as it was becoming a summer mecca for tourists.²³ The annual Iditarod sled races became a national winter sports event.

The historic Iditarod Trail which runs from Seward to Nome, is a combination of trails resulting from different gold strikes occurring near the turn of the century. A dog sled mail contract running from Knik to Nome and awarded in 1910 helped consolidate the trail, and a 1925 "Serum Run" that rescued Nome from a threatened diphtheria epidemic gave it new prominence. The trail soon fell into disuse, but in 1967 it was commemorated by a dog sled race, which has itself become an historic event. By 1973, the 1,100 mile race wound through much of the Chugach National Forest to Girdwood through Anchorage to Nome. Clay Beal, Chugach Forest Supervisor, and others were appointed by the Secretary of Interior to a special Iditarod National Historic Trail Council in 1980, created to monitor and facilitate the historic event.²⁴

Early Interpretive Programs

While fishing and hunting are among the most popular traditional sports in Alaska, the Chugach is famed for its sports fishing. The Russian River, located on the Kenai Peninsula is "legendary fishery for both red and silver salmon." It has long received the greatest sport fishing pressure in Southcentral Alaska. The Fish and Wildlife Service maintained a campground at the junction of the Russian and Kenai rivers, and in 1969, the Forest Service opened its first campground in the area—with 86 units located upstream from the confluence of the two rivers. Kenai District Ranger Bob Galea, Bob Hakala from the Regional Office, and others, discussed and then planned to implement an interpretive program focusing on fish and wildlife resources. Larry Majdan, a naturalist assigned to the Anchorage District, initiated the program in 1970. A similar program begun at Portage in 1966 utilized a mobile trailer and catered to organized bus tours coming in from Anchorage.²⁵

Majdan reported after several years that attendance at the interpretive programs was small, but the response good. There were also problems. The standard Forest Service uniform, especially those for women, were not suitable for the outdoor work. The naturalists jobs at both Portage and on the Russian River required an increasing amount of manual labor—including "observatory cleaning, mopping, cleaning bowls, maintaining the cavitator, trail and area maintenance, fire ring construction and other construction." In addition, the Forest Service failed to adequately announce and



Source: *The Alaska Almanac*, 16th Edition, 1992.

THE FIRST MODERN IDITAROD TRAIL SLED DOG RACE WAS THE INSPIRATION OF JOE REDINGTON, SR. OF KNIK, AND HISTORIAN DOROTHY PAGE, OF WASILLA. THE FIRST RACE WAS HELD IN 1956, FOR A DISTANCE OF 56 MILES. THE APPROXIMATELY 1,100 MILE RACE THAT HAS CAPTURED THE IMAGINATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WAS FIRST RUN FROM A START IN ANCHORAGE ON MARCH 3, 1973, TO THE FINISH IN NOME ON APRIL 3. THE RACE COVERS MUCH OF THE ORIGINAL TRAIL. CONGRESS DESIGNATED THE TRAIL A NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL IN 1976. THE IDITAROD NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL COUNCIL INCLUDES REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE FOREST SERVICE, FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT, ALASKA FIRE SERVICE, THE ALASKA RAILROAD, THE MUNICIPALITY OF ANCHORAGE, AND THE MATANUSKA SUSITNA BOROUGH.

advertise its programs through posters and flyers.²⁶ But it was an important beginning, and the response was generally good. The Chugach began considering an interpretive program for State ferries in the Southcentral area and in 1971 instituted a program similar to that on the Tongass, but initially limited the interpreter to the M/V Bartlett. The need for expanding services and for a more permanent facility for the Portage area also became apparent.

The Begich-Boggs Visitor Center

That need was finally filled in 1986 with the dedication of the Begich-Boggs Visitor Center, named for Congressmen Nicholas Begich of Alaska, and Hale Boggs of Louisiana, whose plane disappeared somewhere in Alaska during an aerial inspection they were making in 1972. The plane and their remains were never found. The Center, which features glacial exhibits, is the most visited tourist spot in Alaska's National Forests. It is the doorway to the Portage Glacier Recreation Area. Portage Glacier advances at the rate of 15 inches a day, but since 1914 has been melting more rapidly than it advances. "The net result is a slow retreat." In proximity to Portage Glacier are Explorer Glacier, Byron Glacier, and Burns Glacier. The Portage center is easily accessible by automobile from Anchorage. Nature trails, campgrounds, and observation platforms have made the area a favorite for tourists.²⁷

Portage is also the transfer point for automobile and passenger access to Whittier via the Alaska Railroad. Whittier, once a World War II fuel depot secluded behind a mountain screen, is now a fishing village and embarkation point for boat tours and access to Prince William Sound. One of the most spectacular viewing areas near Whittier is the Port Wells-Harriman Fiord-College Fiord area where twenty-six (or more) glaciers provide an awesome view that reconfirm the Chugach as a forest "born of ice."

Fishing and Wildlife Viewing

Fishing and wildlife viewing, stimulated by the growing tourist and sport charter industry, brought a steadily rising stream of visitors into the Chugach National Forest. The Kenai River, which joins the Russian, followed the latter closely in fishing popularity. Other major fishing and wildlife viewing rivers of the Chugach include Twentymile River, Resurrection Creek and Resurrection River, Shrode Creek in Prince William Sound, Copper River, the Katalla River and Bering River. Very accessible Kenai Peninsula lakes include Crescent and Carter Lake, Upper and Lower Paradise Lakes, Johnson Lake and Bench Lake, recommended for rainbow Trout and grayling. The Upper and Lower

Russian Lakes, Rainbow Lake and Char Lake were among the areas most productive for rainbow trout and Dolly Varden. Martin Lake on the Copper River Delta provided excellent fishing for Dolly Varden, Cutthroat, Sockeye and Coho Salmon. Many of the more remote lakes of the Copper River Delta and Prince William Sound could be reached only by air—providing both a need and an opportunity for growing packer, guide, and fly-in services.²⁸

Relatively few outfitter and guide services were operating in 1985. David Rittenhouse, Supervisor of the Ketchikan Area, thought it would have been really hard to find three or four outfitters in his area, but the numbers grew rapidly. That facet of recreation and forest management is just beginning, Rittenhouse thought. The Stikine Area listed five outfitter guide services operating under Stikine Area permits in 1989. Mike Barton said there were eight privately owned resorts, one privately owned winter sports area, and eighty outfitter guide operations bringing photographers, fishers, hunters, and general sightseers into the Alaska National Forests. The Forest Service permits the outfitters, provides periodic reviews and general management reviews, conducts public hearings, provides counsel to the guides, and responds to comments and inquiries regarding outfitter and guide services and recreational uses of the National Forests, explained Kimberly Bown, Regional Director of Recreation, Cultural and Wilderness Resources. The Forest Service helps create standards and lends an element of stability and credibility to the developing private recreational businesses. Both Barton and Bown suggested a developing synergism between tourism, recreation, the visitor industry, and the Forest Service.²⁹ Another component of the visitor industry/Forest Service synergism is the State of Alaska.

Although the protection of wildlife was under the authority of the Departments of Treasury, Commerce, and Agriculture, before 1925 sports game and fish regulations and enforcement were nominal. In 1925 Congress created the Alaska Game Commission to protect game animals, land fur bearing animals and birds. The Commission set hunting seasons and bag limits, and created or managed wildlife refuges, but for most sportsmen Alaska offered an open season.³⁰ In reality, the hunting and sport fishing pressures were small until the 1950s. With Statehood, Alaska assumed authority over fish and wildlife management on both State and federal lands in Alaska.

Alaska's Constitution and Natural Resources

Alaska's is the only state constitution with a separate

article devoted exclusively to natural resources. Article VIII of the State Constitution established a presumption in favor of the development and utilization of the state's resources; it recognized those resources as a public trust, with the State to guarantee the broadest possible access to the use of the state's resources. The Constitution also "reserved the State's wildlife to the people for common use consistent with the public interest." The constitution-makers advocated management of renewable resources on the basis of sustained yield, and encouraged multiple use whenever such uses were compatible. Not surprisingly, and probably in good measure due to the contributions of B. Frank Heintzleman who resigned as Regional Forester to become territorial governor of Alaska in 1953, the Alaska Constitution drafted in 1958 reflected the policies and positions of the USDA Forest Service. The inclusion of a natural resources article in the state Constitution also signified the importance of minerals, fish and wildlife in the history of Alaska's development.³¹

The Constitution created a Department of Fish and Game under the direction of a Commissioner and a Board charged under the Constitution with the conservation and development of fish and game resources. The State program is subdivided into a Commercial Fish Division, Fisheries Rehabilitation and Enhancement Division (created in 1971), and a Division of Game and Sport Fish. In 1975, the Board of Game and Fisheries was divided into two Boards, one for fisheries and one for game. Under Federal law, the Forest Service in Alaska is charged with the management of fish and game habitat on the National Forests. The management of fish and wildlife resources on the National Forests is thus a cooperative effort between the State and the Forest Service. Sometimes there was conflict.

The Boards of Fisheries and Game recognized their primary function as the conservation and development of Alaska's fish and game resources. And while the Boards understood the Forest Service's mandate for multiple use management of the fish and game habitats on the National Forests, in December 1980, at a joint meeting the State Boards formally protested "the present forest management practice of clearcut logging throughout Southeast Alaska." The Boards resolution suggested that many fish and wildlife species including goats, marten, Canada Geese, bald eagles, and salmonids "may be old growth dependent," and called upon the Forest Service to revise the Tongass Land Management Plan and "provide more protection for valuable fish and wildlife habitat."³² The TLMP revision subsequently did enhance protection for fish and wildlife

protection.

Cooperative programs for wildlife protection extended much further than with the State Department of Fish and Game. The Copper River Delta Game Management Unit combined the efforts of the Forest Service, State Department of Fish and Game, Pacific Northwest Range and Experiment Station, the Institute of Northern Forestry in Fairbanks and the Forestry Sciences Laboratory in Juneau. The Copper River Delta, one of the world's most important migratory bird breeding grounds had been markedly affected by an earthquake in 1964 which raised land levels in some areas, and dropped them in others. The hydrological characteristics, vegetation, and waterfowl habitat underwent significant change. The cooperating managers were studying the effects of the earthquake on the wetlands. There were specific studies being conducted of dusky Canada geese (and the influence of hunting, and predators on them); and of critical waterfowl and big game habitat, and discussions for developing a Bering River Trumpeter Swan Management Area. The Chugach maintained the Alaganik Slough Road off of the Copper River Highway east of Cordova for recreational and viewing access into the wetlands.³³

The Copper River Delta Institute

The Copper River Delta Institute is a joint Regional-Pacific Northwest Research Station project to utilize the Copper River Delta as a "living laboratory" to examine wetlands ecology, and to determine management strategies. The Forest Service's Pacific Northwest Research Station, headquartered in Portland, Oregon, collaborates in research projects with the Forest Sciences Laboratory in Juneau and in Anchorage, and with the Institute of Northern Forestry in Fairbanks. Cooperating members of the Institute include the Bureau of Land Management, Fish and Wildlife Service, National Marine Fisheries, National Park Service, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Alaska Department of Natural Resources, the City of Cordova, Eyak Corporation, Chugach Alaska Corporation, Yale University, the Audubon Society, and Prince William Sound Community College Science Center. Dr. Mary Ann Bishop managed the Copper River Delta Institute which is located in Cordova.³⁴

Ecosystem Management

As the decade of the Eighties passed, the Chugach Forest and the Region moved closer to a broader, integrated planning based upon ecosystem classification and management. Ecologists were first hired in the National Forest System in the late 1960's and early 1970's. They were assigned to develop habitat type and plant association classification systems. Habitat

types could include biogeoclimatic zones, and stream-side riparian areas. A "plant association" is a group of particular plant species which occur together on similar habitats. Region 10 entered into the world of ecology in 1981 by introducing ecological classifications with an Integrated Resource Inventory program. By 1988, the Region boasted six ecologists, including Tom DeMeo and Julie Cancannon on the Ketchikan Area; Bill Pawuk on the Stikine Area; Barbara Schrader and Susan Borchers (the first Ecologist employed in the Region) on the Chugach, and Jon Martin, the Regional Coordinator.³⁵

The adoption of the GIS system in the Region greatly improved classification development and recording. Larry H. Meshew, Ecology System Management Staff Officer for the Ketchikan Area, sees ecosystem management as a logical extension of multiple-use management. Ecosystem management involves an integrated approach considering technical, social and economic elements and larger geographic scales. It ties inventories together. It requires team work. Meshew thought the trend was toward participatory team management (reflecting perhaps a re-emerging Resource Management Era?).³⁶

Robert deVelice, who joined the Chugach Forest in 1992 as the Forest Ecologist, specializes in plant ecology. Even in grade school, he recalls, he became interested in vegetation classifications. After graduation from New Mexico State University he worked in New Zealand on plant classifications, and then worked in Oregon on an Environmental Protection Agency project relating to global climatic changes. From there he went to the Nature Conservancy for work in Montana, and he joined the Forest Service in 1992. There was a "big change" in the transition from the Nature Conservancy to the Forest Service. His past work had been with groups who stressed environmental advocacy, while the Forest Service focused on multiple use management.³⁷

DeVelice was particularly attracted to Alaska because it is a largely unmodified environment. The Chugach, he said, is a "wetlands National Forest," the most so in the System, and it is a recreation-wildlife forest. One of the most interesting areas of work was in the Copper River Delta, where the 1964 earthquake created an average earth uplift of six feet, changing the wetlands and plant associations. There a major plant classification program is underway in a cooperative program with the National Heritage Program.³⁸

Ecologists on the National Forests are actually "vegetation ecologists." Ecology, deVelice believes, offers great

opportunities for better forest management. "We have fabulous capabilities, including satellite sensing and computer mapping." Ecology is an over-arching discipline and provides integration. Ecologists can provide a stimulus and set needs and goals. Ecology is particularly related to recreational programs by virtue of its habitat assessment capabilities and interpretive functions. The discipline can provide an assessment of what people are seeing. Ecology offers a new sense of dynamics in forest management.³⁹ The discipline also tends to promote conservancy and to de-emphasize production.

Although, by the close of the decade of the Eighties, the Chugach National Forest had clearly changed its focus from production to recreation and the "soft" side of forestry, the Tongass was conditioned by its imperative to meet the contractual obligations under the Alaska Pulp and Ketchikan Pulp contracts. Even her field of archeology is "timber driven" said Karen Iwamoto, forest archeologist on the Chatham Area—but she sensed in the early '90s a shift to a stronger recreation orientation on the Tongass, and more archeology being "other" directed rather than timber-harvest directed.⁴⁰

Lowell Suring, a wildlife biologist on the Chugach who worked in Ketchikan and Juneau (as Regional Coordinator for Habitat Relationships) before moving to Anchorage, felt that there were significant differences in the Tongass and the Chugach National Forests. The wildlife program on the Tongass relates to supporting the timber harvest, whereas on the Chugach "we have a wildlife program for wildlife." The Chugach is more conscious of viewing and recreation, the Tongass more concerned with timber harvests.⁴¹ Moreover, the Tongass timber base was declining due to State and Native land transfers, and the creation of Wilderness and Monument Areas. In a way, timber became more, not less critical to Tongass Forest Management in the 1980s. And another of the "hard" components of forest management—mining—previously a non-issue, again became significant.

The Quartz Hill Mine Prospect

United States Borax and Chemical Corporation geologists discovered molybdenum at Quartz Hill in the Ketchikan Area in 1974. The 152,000-acre claim was excluded, but it lay within the perimeters of the Misty Fiords National Monument created by President Carter, in 1978, and established as a wilderness area by ANILCA in 1980. The mining prospects were thought to contain the largest known deposits of molybdenum, and

mining operations were anticipated to employ 850-900 people, making it one of the largest single potential Alaska employers.⁴²

The mine generated considerable opposition during the ANILCA debates, and triggered litigation. U.S. Borax planned to begin bulk sampling sometime in 1980 or 1981, and the Forest Service cooperated by having earlier planned a 9.5 mile access road and allowing continuing exploratory activities. In 1978, the Department of Agriculture withdrew a road construction permit previously granted by the Forest Service, requiring U.S. Borax to use helicopters to take bulk samples from its 876 mining claims located in the roadless area. On November 13, 1981, U.S. District Judge James A. van der Heydt, in Anchorage, issued a restraining order on the Forest Service and U.S. Borax from mining activities (including bulk sampling) at Quartz Hill and access by roadway through the newly established Misty Fiords Monument. The order was extended on March 8, 1982. The contested development caused the Chief R. Max Peterson to require additional studies to the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) completed for the road access and bulk sampling procedures proposed for the molybdenum mining operations. The Forest Service released a new Draft Environmental Impact Statement on July 18, 1984, and in 1988 completed the Final Environmental Impact Statement and Record of Decision based on the proposed U.S. Borax operating plan. Meanwhile, at Quartz Hill Borax suspended its explorations and operations. As of 1990, the Quartz Hill Mine seemed to be a moot question. Market conditions, rising costs associated with delays and restrictions on operations, appeals to the FEIS and ROD, and litigation combined to suspend mining developments within the area.⁴³

Mining activity also quickened in the Chatham Area of the Tongass in the 1980s. Gary Morrison, Area Supervisor, classed the Greens Creek mine as potentially one of the largest silver producing mines in North America. Located in a relatively sensitive environmental area, Greens Creek operators worked closely with the Forest Service; they were cooperative and met environmental concerns. Unlike Quartz Hill, Greens Creek did begin production but suspended it after silver prices declined. Another mining prospect is the Jualin Mine, owned by an Indiana Consortium and located at Berner's Bay. The Kensington Mine north of Juneau is ready for production, while the APEX mine at Pelican has completed the EIS hurdle. Gold, silver and precious metal production is particularly susceptible to market prices, and with prices generally low in the Eighties, production has remained negligible—but the potential is large.⁴⁴

The Forest Service estimated that between 1981 and 1988 the mining industry spent \$59 million to explore for minerals in Southeast Alaska. The Region estimated the value of minerals on the Tongass at \$43 billion located in 148 identified mineral deposits located on 724,500 acres. As something of an understatement, the Forest Service observed that: "The challenge for the future will be to resolve the conflict over society's increasing demand for nonrenewable mineral resources with the increasing demand for protection of the environment."⁴⁵

Misty Fiords And Admiralty National Monuments

Misty Fiords is at the center of the Quartz Hill controversy and Quartz Hill paradoxically is near the geographic center of the 2.3 million acre Misty Fiords National Monument. It is a remote and wild area, encompassing "diverse ecosystems supporting a wide range of plants and wildlife." There are relatively few on-the-ground visitors to the Monument, but there is an active "flightseeing" industry in Ketchikan which flies tourists over the Monument. Fishermen and wildlife watchers are the major users of the 14 cabins maintained on the Monument. Visitors are cautioned that medical facilities are not available, and that brown and black bear are everywhere and are unpredictable. Misty Fiords offers a unique wildness experience for the particularly hardy Alaska visitor.⁴⁶

Admiralty National Monument, comprising most of Admiralty Island but for Native lands near Angoon and excluded lands located between Fishery Point and Point Hepburn on the northwestern coast of the Island, was designated the Kootznooowoo (Tlingit for "Fortress of the Bears") Wilderness by ANILCA. It is both a wildlife reserve and a Tlingit Indian cultural reserve.⁴⁷

Kaye J. Metcalf, headed many of the planning efforts and public information programs in the Region for the previous 17 years, before being appointed the first Manager (District Ranger) of the Admiralty National Monument by Chatham Area Supervisor Dick Wilson in March 1979. Metcalf described his task as to create "a management approach for the Monument by working with all of those who have an interest in Admiralty including: the Native corporations, communities, the State of Alaska, the mineral industry and a variety of local and national organizations and individuals." Angoon, the Native village on Admiralty Island, created a committee of community leaders to advise. Logging was prohibited on the Monument, but mining on valid claims is allowed. Subsistence rights were respected, and sports hunting, fishing, and air access was allowed. Building upon a program begun in the 1930s, by 1990

the Monument offered twenty-five recreational cabins for public use accessible by boat and plane.⁴⁸ The management of wilderness areas in Alaska differs from the regular forested areas largely in that logging is prohibited on wilderness areas. Otherwise, recreational and subsistence uses are managed in much the same way on wilderness and non-wilderness areas.

Subsistence

ANILCA directed federal land management agencies, including the Forest Service in Alaska, to “provide the opportunity for rural residents engaged in a subsistence way of life to continue to do so.” The legislation provided that “customary and traditional” uses of all such resources “shall be the priority consumptive uses of all such resources on the public lands of Alaska.”⁴⁹

When Alaska became a State, authority for the management of fish and wildlife on Federal lands passed to the State. The ANCSA settlement extinguished aboriginal hunting and fishing rights on Federal lands, but a conference report concluded that such rights would be protected by the State of Alaska and the Department of Interior. Subsistence became an issue during discussions and negotiations leading to ANILCA. During that time, in 1978, and in anticipation of ANILCA, the State of Alaska approved a subsistence law recognizing the right of any Alaskan, Native and non-Native, to harvest fish and game for food. This law created a priority for subsistence over all other fish and game uses.⁵⁰

ANILCA, on the other hand, when approved in 1980, required a subsistence priority for “rural residents” of Alaska on Federal “public lands.” The act also recognized the right of Alaska to continue to manage fish and game on all lands if the State enacted a law granting subsistence priority to rural residents, in compliance with ANILCA. In 1982, the Alaska Boards of Fisheries and Game then adopted regulations creating a rural subsistence priority. Subsequently, an attempt to repeal the 1978 State subsistence law was rejected by Alaska voters, who advocated equal hunting and fishing subsistence rights for all—not just for rural residents.⁵¹

In 1985, the State Supreme Court ruled that the Board of Fisheries and Game had no authority to grant subsistence rights only to rural residents. The next year, 1986, the State Legislature amended the subsistence law to give a subsistence priority to rural residents. But the state chose to interpret “rural” as an economic entity, giving the designation the broadest possible connotation. Alaskan Natives, joined by others, challenged the interpretation in Federal court.

The 9th Circuit Appeal Court (*Kenaitze v. State*) held the state’s definition of “rural” as not in compliance with ANILCA, while in a separate case a U.S. District Court (*Bobby [Lime Village] v. State*) ruled that hunting seasons and bag limits were inappropriate for subsistence hunters, giving rural subsistence hunters priority over all other users. Finally, in 1989, the State Supreme Court ruled that the State could not grant subsistence rights to persons based solely on residency, rendering the 1978 law and its amendment invalid.⁵² Thus, at the close of the decade of the 1980s, subsistence, like mining, previously a non-issue, was on the way to becoming a major issue in National Forest planning and management in the decade of the nineties. The issue became increasingly complex, and ultimately resulted in Federal authority reassuming responsibility for fish and game management on the National Forests and other Federal lands.

Region 10 created a special staff to deal with subsistence. ANILCA Section 810 requires federal agencies to evaluate the effects of proposed land actions on subsistence uses and needs, and to assess alternatives which would reduce or eliminate the consequences of proposed uses of public lands needed for subsistence purposes. It calls for a formal determination of subsistence impacts prior to proceeding with the proposed land action. In practice, this process is incorporated into the NEPA EIS procedure. To make the Section 810 determination, the Forest Service must assemble and analyze the best available baseline data on subsistence, evaluate whether or not the proposed activity may significantly restrict subsistence, and consider alternative land actions to identify means of eliminating or mitigating subsistence impacts, including finding other land for the activity, if the federal land activity is necessary.

A Section 810 determination became a component of Forest Service planning in the TLMP revision. Because there was no comprehensive baseline data available for the entire Region, the Forest Service undertook a major research project to document current subsistence harvests and to map all the areas ever used by local residents for subsistence purposes. The study, entitled the Tongass Resource Use Cooperative Survey (TRUCS), was completed in 1988 by the USFS in cooperation with the University of Alaska’s Institute for Social and Economic Research, and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game’s Division of Subsistence. The TRUCS findings include nearly all hunting and fishing harvests carried out by residents of a sample of households in 30 study communities.⁵³

Consideration of methods to implement this section of ANILCA has been ongoing within the Forest Service in the Tongass region. Steve Brink, the IDT leader for the TLMP revision, invited the State of Alaska to assist in designing the ANILCA Section 810 evaluation procedures that were a necessary part of the EIS for the Tongass Plan Revision. "The legal requirements of Section 810 and other sections of ANILCA concerned with subsistence uses, access to subsistence resources, and subsistence research are being defined in numerous court cases impinging on federal implementation of Section 810 and state regulation of subsistence. We expect further definition to take place in legal proceedings in coming years which may require federal agencies to follow different or more rigorous procedures than the ones we are now recommending."⁵⁴

Norm Howse, a fish and wildlife specialist with experience as a fish biologist in the Northern Region, was the Region 10 Subsistence Program Leader until he retired in 1995. He came to Alaska, he said, because of its exceptional fish and wildlife resources. He heard of an opening for a fish biologist on the Chugach in 1971, and when he called Sig Olsen to inquire about the job, he remembers Olsen exclaiming over the phone, "Hey, I see a black bear!" That did it. Howse arrived in Anchorage with his family and inquired about where the Forest Service was located. "No one," he said, "seemed to know." The Chugach had a very small operation when he arrived in June—there were three Ranger Districts and a total staff, including the Ranger Districts, of about 35 people. He began as a fish and wildlife biologist, moved to Sitka on the Chatham Area in 1977, and returned to the Chugach in 1980 as deputy Forest Supervisor. As he became increasingly involved in land management planning one of his primary efforts was to attempt to understand ANILCA and subsistence. In 1985 he was called back to the Regional Offices in Juneau to head up the subsistence program.⁵⁵

Ken Thompson, the Regional Subsistence Field Manager who has worked closely with Howse since 1990, arrived in Sitka after twelve years experience with the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife—working primarily on stream flow requirements in Pacific northwest waterways. Both Howse and Thompson agreed that in the 1970s there was little to define as "subsistence activity." After ANILCA the major effort of the Forest Service was simply to define subsistence uses and resources. But the issues of rural vs. urban, and aboriginal vs. non-Native subsistence rights became more pressing. One question, Howse recalls dealing with, was: Did urban Natives retain aboriginal subsis-

tence rights under the "rural" ANILCA definition? Advice from the Alaska Advisory Council, plus court rulings and consultations with attorneys, led to the conclusion that ANILCA subsistence rights extended to all Natives.⁵⁶ But through the 1980s, subsistence decisions and interpretations were made mostly in court.

Robert Loescher, Sealaska Vice-President for resource management (mentioned earlier), in 1989 expressed the growing concern among Native groups that traditional rights to hunt, fish and use Alaska's forest resources were being jeopardized by the presumed failure of the Forest Service to give subsistence adequate weight in its planning. In 1990, the Federal government assumed subsistence authority, and since July 1992, the Federal government (and the Forest Service) began to operate all subsistence programs. Subsistence is being dealt with on almost a species by species case, with caribou, moose and deer currently being "major items" on the agenda. In general, Howse and Thompson agree that the Forest Service would like to see the State back in compliance with the subsistence provisions of ANILCA, and would like to see it reassume responsibility for subsistence on the National Forests. But that is not likely to happen soon. Sports hunters and fishermen are badly divided and have no real voice in a decision. Compliance would require an amendment to the State Constitution, and that requires a 2/3 vote in the legislature and ratification by 51% of the voters.⁵⁷ As a result, subsistence became one of the critical issues confronting the Region in the 1990s. Another issue that suddenly spilled into the limelight in the late 1980s, and would begin to set the agenda for recreational issues and forest management in the following decade had to do with the "discovery" of a vast cave complex on the Tongass National Forest.

Caverns of the Tongass

Mike Van Note began work as an engineer on the Tongass National Forest in 1979, surveying roads for timber sales on Prince of Wales island. An amateur "caver," he discovered "in no time at all...that there were many caves and extensive areas of karst." A "karst" is an area of limestone formations characterized by sinks, ravines, underground streams—and caves. Note described the area on Bald Mountain at nearby Heceta Island as a "karst frontier, the potential which it seemed, had eluded the general caving community:"

No one cared about caves on the Tongass when I surveyed roads for those very timber sales in 1979. Caves were, at best, items of limited interest, like a

deer fleeing through the woods. At worst, they were hazards which might swallow a road, or be convenient places for garbage or logging slash. The level of understanding of caves and their environment was best demonstrated when the Forest Service clearcut above El Capitan Cave while using the Cave Spring as an untreated water source for their work camp at El Capitan.⁵⁸

And try as he might, Note generated little interest in Alaskan caves among fellow spelunkers in the lower 48. Later, in Southeast Alaska, he met Kevin and Carlene Allred, who after a trip to the area described by Note, were like himself astounded by the richness of the cave resources. Finally, in 1987, the Allred's and Note were able to attract an "official" Speleological Society caving expedition to area.⁵⁹

Following that expedition, the National Speleological Society became interested in the Prince of Wales caves, and while not directly related to that interest, in 1988 Congress approved the Federal Cave Protection Act requiring conservation and protection of karsts and caves located on Federal lands. The Forest Service quickly embraced the caverns as a part of the Region 10 mission. James F. Baichtal, a forest geologist on the Ketchikan Area, was assigned responsibility to help develop management procedures. The Forest Service entered into a partnership with a local chapter of the National Speleological Society called the Glacier Grotto to receive help in evaluating cave resources. The major effort has been, during the first few years, to inventory the area, to monitor cave resources in proposed timber cut areas, and to begin to educate the Forest Service and the public about karsts and caves, while developing suitable management programs. "What is emerging," Kevin Allred, who became the Tongass Cave Project Director for the National Speleological Society, wrote Michael Barton in 1993, "could be the best temperate rainforest karst resource in the world."⁶⁰

The Tongass Caverns, an unanticipated but potentially rich recreational resource, became an matter of intense interest and concern to the Region in the 1990s. Caving, and karst preservation, became another of the Forest's many uses.

A Changing Mix—of People and Programs

Things were changing on the National Forests of Alaska in the 1980s. The change was perhaps particularly prominent on the Chugach National Forest which became, by its own perception and definition a recreational and wilderness forest. Things changed too on

the Tongass. Less perceptibly perhaps, but very definitely. Karen Iwamoto, who arrived in Sitka in 1982, said she first began to sense change about 1985. Archeology began to become "other" (than timber) directed. When Jim Franzel became District Ranger in 1991, he stressed recreation. Sport fishing, recreation, and the recreation cabin program became more prominent concerns in District work. There began to be many more fisheries projects. And Sitka changed, too. The Tongass National Forest as a whole became more recreation oriented.⁶¹

Jim Franzel also thought there had been significant changes on the Forest. The number of employees on the Sitka District grew from about 25 or 30 to over 100. There were 25 names in the office telephone directory when he arrived in Sitka in 1976, he recalled. The Forest Service has changed its way of doing things. It is learning to accommodate many divergent interests. In doing so its style of management has changed. There are more people, more planners, more specialists, and more professionals.⁶²

Frank C. Arnold, Director of Personnel for the Alaska Region from 1974 through 1992, left Gulf Oil Company in 1959 to begin work for the Forest Service which he perceived to have "a more noble mission" than the oil industry. His most memorable experience was to preside over the expansion of personnel in the Alaska Region from a few hundred to more than a thousand. During his first five years as personnel director the number of employees in the Region climbed from 350 to over 1,000. The organization changed from one made up primarily of white male foresters to one of multiple professional disciplines, varied cultures, many women and minorities—and overall, he added, for the personnel administrator, a much more complex and difficult management situation.⁶³ During the 1980s the Region settled its new post-RMA Ranger District organization, continued to increase the numbers of personnel, and appointed new administrative officers.

In August 1979, the Region opened a Juneau Work Center on the Glacier Highway near Juneau. The new station housed the Juneau Ranger Station (still called the Juneau Work Center at that time), and the offices for the newly created Admiralty National Monument. In Anchorage, in June, the Chugach Forest named Ron Burraychak as its Fish and Wildlife Program Manager to replace Al Collotzi who moved to Boise, Idaho. One reflection of changing times on the Chugach was that the budget for Fish and Wildlife had risen from \$200,000 in 1976, to more than \$1 million for 1980. And in Petersburg, John Buttrille, Forest Supervisor for

the Stikine Area, announced that Joe Firebaugh, his Forest Service Information Officer, would retire in July.⁶⁴

Between 1981 and 1982, new Forest Supervisors were named to each of the Tongass Areas. John Buttrille left the Stikine in 1981 for duty in the Chief's Office, and Regional Forester John Sandor appointed John Hughes, head of the Region's Silviculture Section, as the new Area Supervisor. Hughes had come to Alaska from the Pacific Northwest Regional Office. Richard M. (Dick) Wilson, who supervised the Ketchikan Area from 1970 to 1975, and the Chatham Area from 1975 to 1982, moved to Juneau in October 1982 to begin serving as Director of Recreation for the Region. William P. Gee succeeded Wilson as Forest Supervisor of the Chatham Area. A native of Utah, Gee spent most of his Forest Service career in the Intermountain Region and the Northern Region. James F. Watson, Supervisor of the Ketchikan Area, retired in December 1981. Sandor named Win Green, then Staff Director of Fisheries and Wildlife for the Pacific Southwest Region headquartered in San Francisco as his successor. Green, a wildlife biologist, had experience in the Southwest Region, the Pacific Southwest, and Intermountain Regions and had particular expertise in coordinating wildlife programs with timber management.⁶⁵

In response to the rapidly growing number of visitors to the Tongass, and particularly to the Juneau Ranger District, in March 1983, the Region opened a visitor information center in the new Centennial Hall Convention Center located on the waterfront in Juneau. The visitor center was to be a collaborative effort by several State and Federal agencies, and was operated by the Juneau Ranger District, at that time headed by Jack Blackwell. It featured information booths and display shelves, a 50-seat theater for movie and slide presentations, and for project demonstrations. Planned exhibits featured Native settlements and Alaska's fur trading, fishing, gold mining, and logging history. In Petersburg, another visitor information center opened as a joint effort of the Petersburg Chamber of Commerce and the Forest Service. It provides visitors with information on the town of Petersburg and recreational opportunities in the area.⁶⁶ Like the Mendenhall Glacier Center, and the Begich-Boggs Visitor Center, the Centennial Hall Information Center became one of the Region's most visited visitor centers.

John Sandor retired from the Forest Service in 1984 having served as Regional Forester since 1976. After receiving his B.S. degree, he worked for the Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station.

When Greeley transferred to Alaska to become Regional Forester, Sandor went up for a six month assignment on inventory work. In the Fall of 1953, he transferred to the Region for work on a timber management unit, married, moved to Ketchikan as District Ranger, left there for a degree in Public Administration at Harvard and returned to Juneau in late 1959 to serve as Personnel and Training Director. He left Alaska in 1962 for various assignments including Assistant Regional Forester in the Southern Region; Assistant to Chief Edward Cliff in Washington, D.C.; and Deputy Regional Forester in the Eastern Region, and returned in 1976 as Regional Forester.⁶⁷

In 1990, Alaska Governor Walter Hickel asked Sandor to join his cabinet as Commissioner of the Department of Environmental Conservation. His whole life, Sandor reflected in 1994, has been involved in conservation and the wise use of natural resources. Before the 1970s, Sandor believed that the Forest Service and the Soil Conservation Service were the unchallenged leaders in the conservation movement. Since the 1970s, the users of natural resources—the developers and the preservationists—have become polarized. The Forest Service could not respond to public pressures and lost its on-the-ground management capability. It began to lose support and credibility. Sandor thought that ecosystem management, decentralization, and a return to on-the-ground management were helping re-establish the Forest Service's effectiveness as a resource manager.⁶⁸

Michael Barton, Sandor's Deputy Regional Forester, became Regional Forester. A water quality specialist, Barton spent much of his earlier Forest Service career in Michigan and in Washington, D.C. as Director of the Watershed Management Staff before coming to Alaska in 1979 as Deputy Regional Forester. Barton appointed David Hessel as his Deputy Regional Forester. Hessel was then Deputy Director of the Resources Program and Assessment Staff in the Chief's Office. His career had been largely in fire and recreation work in the west before a stint as Forest Supervisor on Kisatchie National Forest in Louisiana between 1979 and 1982.⁶⁹

Hessel left the Region in 1986, to return to Washington, D.C. as Director of Timber Management. In turn, G. Lynn Sprague moved from Washington D.C. where he was Director of the Information Systems Staff, to become Barton's Deputy. With two degrees in forestry, and experience in fisheries and recreation, Sprague was Forest Supervisor of the Modoc National Forest in California before going to the Chief's Office. Barton retired in 1994, and joined the State as Commissioner

of the Department of Transportation and Public Facilities. Konrad B. Reinke, Director of the Region's Office of Information retired in January 1986 after ten years in the position, and a 25-year career in the Forest Service, including a term in Washington, D.C. where he was National Program Manager for the Smokey Bear program. In Juneau, Reinke served as President of the Greater Juneau Chamber of Commerce, advisor to the Alaska Visitor's Association, a member of the City and Borough of Juneau Planning Commission, and a Director of the Alaska State Chamber of Commerce. Jim Caplan, Reinke's assistant, became acting director of information until Barton named Wayne R. Nicolls Director of Public Affairs.⁷⁰

Nicolls began his Forest Service career in Wisconsin in 1957. As a Ranger he became interested in I & E work. Although he served in the Intermountain Region and in the Southwestern Region, among other areas, Alaska had always intrigued him since he read about it as a youth. He first came to Alaska in 1976 to learn about the d-2 lands and how the Forest Service might "sell" the idea of New National Forests in Alaska. At that time, the public's perception of the Forest Service in Alaska was based on what they saw in the Tongass. And what they "saw" on the Tongass were timber harvests. But timber harvests are not timber management—and the public was not aware of that side of things.⁷¹

In the "old days," Nicolls said, the role of the Public Affairs officer was to tell the public what the Forest Service does. But now, he said, issues are more sensitive, and the public in Alaska is not an Alaska public, rather it is a "down south" urban public. People see Alaska through the eyes of urban observers. The Public Affairs officer now must have the technical expertise to advise the public in a public involvement and participation process. Nicolls, like Sandor and Barton, thought that the public had become more polarized over issues of development and preservation. He thought the Forest Service must become more preservationist oriented, but also that the public should be educated to the understanding that cutting timber is **not** equivalent to destroying the land. The Region's advisor to the Alaska Visitor Association, Nicolls indicated that since he came to the Region, tourism and recreation were changing the character of forest management.⁷²

And there were other changes as well. In December 1987, the Anchorage Ranger District on the Chugach National Forest was renamed the Glacier Ranger District and its offices moved to Girdwood southeast of

Anchorage and closer to Portage and Whittier. District Ranger John Knorr explained that Girdwood was first called Glacier City, hence the new District name. In February the following year, 1988, J. Michael Lunn replaced Win Green (who had already been transferred to the Chief's Office) as Supervisor of the Ketchikan Area. In June, Gary Alan Morrison became Supervisor of the Chatham Area, and in August Ron Humphrey was named Supervisor of the Stikine Area when Robert Lynn moved to Washington D.C. to become staff assistant to the Director of Timber Management.⁷³

The Misty Fiords National Monument on the Ketchikan Area of the Tongass won a Chief's award for its leadership in implementing the Forest Service's National Recreation Strategy Program—designed to find cooperative ways to provide outdoor recreational opportunities on the National Forests. Curiously, a 1983 fisheries enhancement project on Marx Creek had been so successful that not only were more salmon spawning, but black and brown bears were attracted in great numbers to feed. More and more tourists and visitors were also attracted to the spawning grounds. The bears and people did not mix well and there were a number of unfortunate encounters. The Hyder Community Association joined with the Forest Service in constructing a walkway and viewing platform that would encourage visitors while preventing dangerous encounters.⁷⁴

And the Chatham Area organized a new Ranger District in 1989, the Yakutat, out of a relatively remote, non-contiguous 1.2 million acre portion of the 4 million-acre Juneau Ranger District. Located on the northern end of Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, the Yakutat District included the Russell Fiord Wilderness announced Chatham Supervisor Gary Alan Morrison. Morrison, who left his position as Alaska Affairs Coordinator in the Washington Office to become Chatham Area Supervisor on June 14, 1988, thought that there had been a considerable change in the Alaska Region since 1980, when he came on the scene as a recreational specialist. Fishing, wilderness, recreation, and mining had become new elements of the multiple-use mix. The timber program was changing; the timber base was shrinking. Ecosystem management was contributing to a more equal allocation of forest resources.⁷⁵

As the decade of the Eighties drew to a close, the Region seemed to have assimilated its ANCSA and ANILCA mandates, and its new personnel. The unsettlement and confusion caused by the re-organization from the Resource Manager structure to Ranger

Districts had ended. Statehood by now was a well-established, and even comfortable reality. Native corporations had generally received most of the lands entitled under ANCSA, and much of the land received had been harvested of its timber. The Region continued to meet its obligations to Alaska Pulp Company and to Ketchikan Pulp Company under the terms of the long-term contracts, despite the changing land boundaries and the shrinking timber base of the Tongass. The Chugach National Forest achieved a new identity as a recreation and visitors forest. The entire Region tilted away from its traditional focus on timber. Recreation, tourism, mining, fishing, wilderness, timber and subsistence were main ingredients of the new multiple-use broth to be set on the Region's table in the coming decade. And there was more. Congress approved the Tongass Timber Reform Act—and there was an incident on the Chugach.

The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill

Good Friday has a special poignancy for the people of Alaska. It is the date of the 1964 earthquake which devastated much of Southcentral Alaska and the towns of Prince William Sound. Residents were marking the 25th anniversary of the quake on March 24 when another disaster struck, the grounding of the tanker Exxon Valdez on Bligh Reef in Prince William Sound.⁷⁶

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Chapter IX

Timber Management, Timber Reform And Some Other Matters

Foresters felt a sense of optimism and anticipation as the decade of the Eighties closed, and the Nineties began. There were good reasons to be optimistic. The Region by now largely had assimilated Statehood and ANCSA (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act) and the large land transfers associated with each. ANILCA, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, with its attendant Wilderness areas, land use designations, subsistence provisions, and land transfers had been encompassed in the management programs. The Region had completed its re-organization from the RMA (Resource Management Assistant) era to conform to the more traditional Forest Service structure. Both the Tongass and Chugach Forest plans were complete, and work had begun on revisions. The Alaska economy still basked in the glow of the flow of black gold from the North Slope fields through the Alyeska pipeline to the shipping terminals at the Port of Valdez, and thence to the markets in the lower 48.

Visitors streamed to Alaska and to the National Forests in growing numbers. Compared to the pre-ANCSA era, before 1970, the Regional staff had more than quadrupled with the addition of many specialists and support staff. It seemed for a moment that the world of Region 10 was more stable and “under control” than at any time in the past three decades. It was good that it was so, because in fairly rapid succession events portending great change again fell heavy-handed upon the Alaska Region. Three events largely defined National Forest management in Alaska as Region 10 entered the last decade of the Twentieth Century.

On March 24, 1989, the giant oil tanker *Exxon Valdez* struck a reef in Prince William Sound, a waterway surrounded by the Chugach National Forest. Within a week heavy crude contaminated much of the western half of the Sound. Two weeks later, an oil slick passed the mouth of Cook Inlet. It eventually reached shorelines over 500 miles away on the Alaska Peninsula near Chignik. Its impact on Alaska National Forest management was immediate and intensive.

Then, on November 28, 1990, President George Bush signed the Tongass Timber Reform Act. The legislation had been brewing in Congress for much of the past decade and was intended to right some of the wrongs seemingly emerging from the ANCSA and ANILCA legislation. The Tongass Timber Reform Act imposed new constraints on timber production, created five new Wilderness Areas and placed large areas under permanent LUD II (Roadless Recreation) status where timber could not be harvested. It created new buffer zones and protection for wildlife and fish habitats. It

required revision of the Tongass Land Management Plan. Like ANCSA and ANILCA, TTRA created management conditions that were unique to Alaska in the National Forest System. TTRA also contributed to conditions which led to termination of the Region's long-term timber contract with Alaska Pulp Corporation.

The third event to have the greatest impact on Region 10 management for the remainder of the decade was the closing of the Alaska Pulp Company mill in Sitka. The mill discontinued operations on September 30, 1993, its managers explaining that pulp markets and rising production costs associated with changes in the long-term contract could not currently justify production. After an official notice from Regional Forester Mike Barton that APC was in violation of the long-term timber contract, Barton announced the termination of the contract. Some months later in December 1994, APC's sawmill operations at Wrangell closed temporarily. The short, and long-term impact of the closings, while centering in the Chatham Area, would affect all of the Region's forests and the people of Alaska. Thus, as the Alaska Region entered a new decade, the order of the day, as with days past, was change—coping with change and managing change.

The Exxon Oil Spill and Its Effect on Region 10

The spilling of about 11 million gallons of crude oil at Bligh Reef had a major effect on the natural resources and associated services of Alaska. The oil spill affected more than 1,500 miles of coastline, including portions of the Chugach National Forest, a National Monument and Preserve, wildlife refuges, and national parks. More mammals and seabirds were killed by the spill than ever recorded in any other spill.¹ The major phases of the spill included first, the response and initial clean-up; second, damage assessment; and finally, restoration.

The Forest Service rushed supervisors, specialists, cleanup and wildlife protection teams to the scene. Regional Forester Mike Barton and Chugach Forest Supervisor Dalton Du Lac arrived quickly on the scene in Valdez, as did John Knorr, Glacier District Ranger whose area was most immediately affected by the spill. Ron Knowles, who served as the finance officer for the team, noted that the Alaska Interagency Incident Command Team was sent to Valdez. The team had two objectives: biological survey of resources, and boom deployment to prevent or reduce damage to those resources. This was the first time the Alaska

team, a part of the national Type I system of ICS teams, had ever been used on an incident other than forest fire. After a few days the Coast Guard assumed control and the team was assigned to supervise work at Kenai Fjords National Park. Since the oil spill incident such teams have been used for floods, earthquakes, and volcano eruptions. Dixie Dies, from the Chugach National Forest, served as the team's information officer. In April, Knorr opened an office in Valdez to serve as Oil Spill Coordinator for the Alaska Region. Biologists Keith Giezentanner and Bob Metzger from the Cordova Ranger District were among other early arrivals to the spill site. They worked closely with their Alaska Department of Fish and Game counterparts in trying to salvage and protect marine mammals and birds affected by the spill.²

Damage assessment work followed the initial response. The Forest Service, working under the direction of Dave Gibbons, began in 1989 to assess damage along the 1,500 miles of oiled coastline. Later, in 1989, the Forest Service began cultural resource studies to determine damage to historic and cultural resources. Alice Brook, the administrative officer for the Chugach National Forest, became Operations Finance Chief for the restoration work. Over time, much of the resources and many of the personnel of Region 10 were directly involved in cleanup and restoration work. Meanwhile, for months, even years, work on Forest plan revisions and other less critical concerns was put on hold.³

Commenting on the "Oily Spring" that had come to Alaska, Mike Barton commended Forest Service personnel for their hard, dedicated and efficient work during the early phase of the crisis. "I'm very happy to report that the Forest Service employees working on the oil spill have enhanced the agency's reputation for getting the job done in a professional manner," he reported. "Morale is high, and the credit for that goes to everyone up there working quietly and with integrity under adverse conditions, [and especially] to Chugach Forest Supervisor Dalton Du Lac and Glacier District Ranger John Knorr for the leadership they've provided."⁴

David Rittenhouse, who managed the "Alaska Desk" in the Chief's Office in Washington, D.C., remembers that in the first phases of the oil spill the crisis was treated as largely an oceanographic problem, with leadership generally being ceded to the Coast Guard and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). But as it became increasingly clear that the environmental damage would most affect the animals and shore birds, and the wildlife habitat, the Forest Service assumed a larger role since it had the greatest management and

resource visibility in the affected region. Rittenhouse became a member of an interagency policy group established in Washington, D.C. Most of those on the policy group were of under-secretary rank, or were lawyers. Despite his lower rank and position, his role became large because he was one of few who had real knowledge of the resources being affected. When talk began about policy representatives "going there" to "do this or that," Rittenhouse not infrequently reminded them that "getting there" would be a major problem, and once there, finding food and quarters would be almost impossible. He also recalls that because of its magnitude, the spill became political and "legal" very quickly. He distinctly remembered one policy group meeting where 26 lawyers were in attendance. Rittenhouse was particularly impressed by the amount of responsibility and trust conferred upon him and others in the Forest Service, irrespective of rank. He sensed the Forest Service, more so than other agencies, tended to delegate authority to the lowest levels, and to support that authority and responsibility from the highest levels. He credits Mike Barton and Jim Wolf, Region 10's Director of Engineering, for much of the leadership and direction in the cleanup.⁵

Restoration was placed in the hands of a Trustee Council, composed of one representative of the State of Alaska (ADF&G), and three Federal representatives respectively from the US Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). In 1991 a six-member trustee council was formed to complete damage assessment work and begin full scale restoration. Alaska Representatives included the Commissioners of the State Departments of Environmental Conservation (John Sandor), the Commissioner of Fish and Game (Carl Rosier), and the Attorney General of the State of Alaska (Charles Cole). The Secretary of Agriculture appointed Regional Forester Mike Barton as agency representative to the Alaska-level trustee council. The other designated representatives included Steve Pennoyer, Regional Director of the National Marine Fisheries Service of NOAA, and Curt McVee, the Special Assistant to the Department of Interior. A public advisory group including fifteen appointed members representing diverse interests related to the oil spill restoration, and two non-voting members from the Alaska House of Representatives and Senate, was later constituted to provide a broader public input. An Interim Administrative Director and a Restoration Team supported Trustee Council actions.⁶

In addition, soon after work began on containment, Federal and State authorities created the Interagency Shoreline Cleanup Committee (ISCC) to advise the

Federal On-Scene Coordinator. Representatives from the Forest Service, National Park Service, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Environmental Protection Agency served on the Committee. The Alaska Departments of Natural Resources, Environmental Conservation, and Fish and Game were represented as were Native corporations, Exxon Corporation, and other interested parties. ISCC at first met daily, and by August 1989, was meeting three times a week.⁷

In June 1991, Dave Gibbons, the Natural Resource Manager responsible for damage assessment and restoration planning, replaced Dalton Dulac as the Oil Spill Coordinator.⁸ His appointment denoted the conversion of the spill from an immediate crisis to a long-term environmental (and prominently fisheries) pollution restoration problem.

After containment of the spill and the initial clean up funded in part by a \$7 million contribution from Exxon Corporation, Congress allocated funds for restoration to the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior for the eighteen month period March 1, 1991, through September 30, 1992. Of this over \$2 million was allocated to the Forest Service for administration, restoration work, and coastal habitat damage assessments. In addition, Congress appropriated over a million dollars for oil spill projects for October 1, 1992, through February 28, 1993, and nearly \$1.7 million for projects for March 1, 1993 to September 30, 1993. In October 1991, the United States and the State of Alaska settled civil and criminal claims against Exxon Corporation and Exxon Shipping Company for damages caused by the spill. The settlement totalled \$1.025 billion. Exxon was required to pay \$900 million over a ten-year period for natural resource damages, including about \$215 million to the government to reimburse its cleanup expenses. There were also \$125 million in criminal fines, with \$50 million going to the State of Alaska, \$50 million to the Federal government, and \$25 million to "Victims of Crime Act" awards. In 1994, an Alaska jury awarded a \$5 billion verdict against Exxon Corporation for damages. Fishermen, hunters, Alaska natives and others were awarded \$287 million from Exxon for actual damages caused by the spill.⁹

By 1994 visual evidence of the oil spill was almost nonexistent. Considerable progress had been made toward restoration. The Trustee Council completed a long-term restoration plan and Environmental Impact Statement for the oil spill-affected area. Lands that were judged to be critical habitat for injured wildlife and natural resources were being purchased from willing sellers. As of 1994, \$50 million had been authorized for this effort

with nearly 27,000 acres in Kachemak Bay, 42,000 acres on Afognak Island, and timber rights on 2,057 acres near Cordova acquired. The acquired lands were to be developed to restore injured wildlife and fish such as marbled murrelets, harlequin ducks, and salmon.¹⁰ On the surface, by 1995, the Forest Service continued to concentrate on restoration and further land purchases. In the long-term, the consequences of the Valdez oil spill on Prince William Sound, the State of Alaska, Exxon Corporation, the petroleum, shipping and insurance industries, and the Forest Service would continue to unfold for many years.

For a time, the *Exxon Valdez* spill obscured or distracted public and Forest Service attention from a complex problem that over time seemingly had evolved into another "environmental crisis." Timber production from National Forest lands, in Alaska and elsewhere, and particularly timber production in Alaska, as it related to the long-term timber contracts and below cost timber sales, evoked growing opposition from environmental groups and from those concerned about fisheries habitats, and wilderness and recreational users. The Valdez spill contributed to the growing public awareness of environmental issues, and may have been a factor in Congressional approval of the Tongass Timber Reform Act in 1990.

To be sure, the Act had much deeper roots. One source of discontent leading to enactment of the Tongass Timber Reform Act related simply to the fact that under provisions of earlier legislation and the long-term timber contracts, the Alaska Region had a very strong commitment and obligation to maintain sustained commercial timber production on the National Forests. But during the almost four decades since initiation of the long-term contracts, the uses and users of Alaska National Forest resources [as had Alaska] changed markedly. And the environmental movement in the meantime emerged with a very broad-based constituency, within Alaska, and outside, as well as within the halls of Congress. Commercial production of timber on National Forest lands was under intense scrutiny everywhere. The Alaska Region long-term timber contracts had become particularly incompatible with rising public concerns about recreation, wilderness, wildlife, and National Forest preservation.

Timber Production and the Tongass Timber Reform Act

The *Draft Alaska Regional Guide*, completed in 1981, for example, indicated that the Region was to provide for orderly development of forest wood products on

commercial forest land in a manner consistent with demand, land capability, and protection of other resources, through planned sales, salvage, reforestation and stand improvement, and increased utilization. The Region, following direction contained in ANILCA, committed itself to maintain the timber supply from the Tongass National Forest to dependent industries at a rate of **four billion five hundred million board feet measure per decade**. The Region would monitor production periodically to determine the adequacy of the timber base for the long term. When wilderness designation reduced the base, existing timber sale contracts were to be modified by substituting, when practicable, timber on other National Forest lands approximately equal in volume, species, grade and accessibility for timber within wilderness units.¹¹ It meant, in the minds of many Region 10 personnel, that the Region was "timber driven." Many environmentalists and wilderness advocates believed that even ANILCA (at least in its interpretation by the Forest Service) supported the Forest Service's traditional interest in timber harvests and sustained yields.

Supply & Demand Reports on ANILCA, Sections 706(a) and 706(b)

Under Section 219.5(e) of the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) and Sections 705 and 706 of ANILCA, the Forest Service was required to submit regular supply and demand assessments. ANILCA Sections 705(a) and 706(a), mandated that the Region submit annual assessments to the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, and to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Within three years an additional report was to be submitted examining opportunities for increasing timber yields on the National Forests in Alaska, and within five years and each year thereafter the Secretary of Agriculture was to review and report to Congress on the status of the Tongass National Forest, the report to include timber harvest levels since enactment of the law. Thus under ANILCA, production, rather than preservation, seemed to be the primary mandate from Congress for Forest Service management of the National Forests in Alaska (from which timber production was not otherwise excluded).¹²

Meeting the timber cut requirements specified under the long-term timber contracts, while drawing from the shrinking timber base caused by State and Native land distributions, and by wilderness and LUD II designations, required intensive efforts throughout the Forest Service organization. The Region worked diligently after ANILCA to establish an accurate data base that would provide the information needed to plan for the

sustained level of timber harvest required, and to produce the designated reports. To develop the data base, the Region entered into numerous contracts and cooperative study agreements with the Pacific Northwest Experiment Station, the Washington Office LMP staff, the State of Alaska, and with private consultants. Regional planners placed heavy reliance on the comprehensive Forest Planning Model (FORPLAN) and the Softwood Timber Assessment Market Model (TAMM). In addition, the Region developed a comprehensive long-term input/output model that attempted to gauge available timber supplies given the changing timber data base, harvests, and changing production. The Region invested \$250,000 in FY 1981, and \$35,000 in FY 1982 in a research plan to study methods to increase timber yields from National Forest System lands in Alaska.¹³

The Region submitted its first ANILCA economic report in December 1981, and a one-time report on increasing timber yields in December 1983. A two-year status report followed in December 1985. The annual supply/demand report for 1986, prepared under the direction of Joseph R. Mehrkens and Lester F. Miller, included information on the status of Forest Service timber and roading policies and the existing timber industry structure. It included an overview of the timber supply in southeast Alaska, Alaska's timber market share, and an analysis of factors affecting future trade, and the southeast Alaska timber industry and related employment.¹⁴

As the data base improved, the annual reports became much more substantive. The annual report on timber supply and demand for 1992, for example, included timber supply data, quantities of timber offered and sold in the fiscal year, the status of the timber "pipeline", and other sources of timber supply. In addition to projected timber demand, the 1992 report included data on the wood products industry in Southeast Alaska, the international market for Alaska wood products, and an appendix estimating demand for Tongass timber. Twenty-one reference tables were included in the 1992 annual report compared to the eight used in the 1986 report.¹⁵ What this meant was that within the decade since the submission of the first ANILCA report, the Alaska Region had developed a much more reliable and accurate inventory of forest resources.

As John Carey, Recreation Group Leader on the Ketchikan Area of the Tongass commented, one of the great frustrations of managing Alaska forest resources had been simply the lack of knowledge of what those resources were. While there was still much to learn, the

Region was now developing those “meaningful measures” that could provide more accurate figures and better forest management for heightened user satisfaction.¹⁶

Nevertheless, the motivation behind the data, under ANILCA provisions, continued to be to facilitate timber harvests and seek to meet the terms of the long-term timber contracts, and counter pressures for a continuing short-term sale program. Concurrently, the Region was committed to encourage and facilitate commercial utilization of forest products by helping forest product users obtain loans for the acquisition of equipment, or for the implementation of new technologies which could lead to utilization of wood products that might otherwise be wasted. The Alaska Region was also committed to study ways to increase timber yields on National Forest lands in Alaska, and to help private, State, and local government interests develop a viable forest-based economy in Alaska that provides a wide range of employment opportunities for local residents. The Forest Service also sought to encourage and assist private, State and local government interests in efficient long-term use and improvement of their lands and renewable resources in a manner consistent with principles of sustained yield and multiple use.¹⁷

Even as the Region improved its ability to manage forest resources through the development of more reliable data bases and better planning, it seemed increasingly evident to the Sierra Club, Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, and others, that all of this was timber-driven. Throughout the 1980s the belief grew in some communities that the Forest Service had as its prime directive, timber production, with the consequent clearcutting, habitat depletion, and environmental damage that would ensue. This conviction led environmental advocates into increasingly intensive reviews of forest plans, management practices, and timber harvest contracts and procedures—and consequent challenges in court and in Congress.

Environmental interests were joined by some Alaska Native corporations which deplored competition from below cost timber sales on Forest Service lands with timber sales from Native lands. The Alaska Native Corporations believed that they might benefit financially if timber harvests were constrained on National Forest lands. Natives might also benefit in that curbing timber harvests on National Forest lands could enhance the Native’s (non-timber) subsistence uses of those lands. But, to be sure, Natives did not compete with National Forest Timber because National Forest Timber could not generally be exported, while Native timber could,

and because pulp companies did absorb Native low value logs.

In September 1985, Sealaska Corporation brought these concerns to the attention of Congress under the review provisions of ANILCA section 706:

The passage of ANILCA came at a time when the Native corporations in Southeast Alaska were just starting to receive conveyance of lands under the Settlement Act. Implementation of certain provisions of ANILCA had adversely affected the ability of the newly established ANCSA corporations to develop into strong economically sound private corporations. In addition, the management direction of the Tongass National Forest has not been conducive to long-term economic stability in the Southeast Alaska region and has failed to address the need for minimizing conflict to facilitate sound management of the natural resources in the region.¹⁸

Native Corporation Logging

As discussed in previous chapters, under settlement terms of ANCSA Alaska Natives received fee simple title to 44 million acres of land and received a cash payment of \$962.5 million. Of the nine village corporations in Southeast Alaska, seven agreed to form new corporations for timber industry development on approximately a half million acres of Native lands. Each village corporation selected 23,040 acres under the land section of ANCSA. Most native corporations in the coastal areas had received temporary approval of their land selections by the early 1980s. The native corporations could harvest timber from their lands seemingly without restriction. There were some restrictions for the initial years requiring the Native logging to conform with Forest Service standards; however, these were largely unenforced. Native corporations do not prepare Environmental Impact Statements under NEPA, but they must follow Alaska environmental laws. Contractors cannot export unprocessed logs from National Forest lands (with some exceptions, such as Cedar), but Native corporations can export unprocessed logs to world markets.¹⁹

In addition, native corporations were exempted from payment from state and local taxes for 20 years; in 1987 Congress made this arrangement permanent. Lack of capital and pressure from shareholders for dividends, however, forced the Native corporations to begin logging over the selected lands immediately, irrespective of depressed market conditions. They also lacked expertise, which they solved in different ways.

Some sold stumpage and did not conduct logging operations; others hired consultants to assist in developing sales.²⁰

The Huna Totem Corporation on Chichagof Island had logged most of its lands by 1987 in order to pay off corporate debts. The Koncor Forest Products Company, representing a group of Native corporations in Yakutat, Kodiak area and on Prince William Sound, hired professionals to manage the land and timber and to market logs. In 1993 this effort had generated revenues exceeding \$64 million with annual harvests of just over 80 million board feet. However, other Native corporations have logged over their lands, distributed their profits, and have little prospect of future revenues from timber harvests until the next rotation.²¹ It is this bleak prospect which sections of the proposed Tongass Timber Reform Act would seek to address.

Competition for Alaska timber resources is generated not only through the long-term timber contracts, but also by Native corporations. The *Draft Alaska Regional Plan* (1981), indicated at the time that Alaska Native land managers planned to harvest from 225 to 250 million board feet annually. In 1987, during testimony at hearings on the *Tongass Timber Reform Act*, Chief Robertson stated that although the harvest from the Tongass National Forest had decreased from 450 million board feet in 1980 to 250-275 million board feet in 1987, the total harvest in Southeast Alaska had remained relatively stable due to timber being sold by the Alaskan Native corporations. According to a study made by Gunnar Knapp in 1991, Native corporations had harvested an estimated 180,000 acres out of 518,287 acres conveyed (450,000 of which were deemed commercial forest) for a total of 3.392 billion board feet. He estimated receipts from commercial forest land ranged from \$100 per acre to several thousand dollars per acre.²²

Recognizing the rather rapid depletion of their own timber resources acquired through ANCSA, Native Corporations began to urge Congress to allow the exchange of cutover lands for standing timber lands on the National Forests. Curiously, environmental allies supported the exchange idea. Section 501(c) of the proposed *Tongass Timber Reform Act* required a study to be made of the "feasibility of acquiring private lands located within the boundary of the Tongass National Forest, which have been significantly harvested."²³ The move to amend the ANCSA and ANILCA settlements were generated by a number of often disparate interests and motives.

The Push For Timber Reform on the Tongass National Forest

Environmental groups within and outside of Alaska, Alaska Natives, as well as those who depended on timber from the National Forests for their livelihood, became particularly interested in the management of timber sales on the Tongass National Forest. Both the House and Senate held hearings between 1986 and 1989 to review Alaska forest management practices, timber sales, ANILCA, and reform legislation being considered in Congress.

On July 31, 1986, Morris K. Udall (D-AZ), Chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (also a member of the Subcommittee on Water, Power, and Offshore Energy Resources) wrote to Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng, discussing five problem areas on the Tongass National Forest. These, according to Udall were:

1. Incorrect Application of Section 705, "Timber Supply"
2. Excessive Road Construction
3. Improper Utility Log Designation
4. Inefficient Log Scaling
5. Data Base for Tongass Land Management Plan (TLMP) Revision and Failure to Apply to Section 6(k) of the National Forest Management Act (NFMA)²⁴

Representative Udall respectfully requested that the Secretary have the Forest Service implement five recommendations: 1) Utilize a backlog of timber prepared for sale but not sold before preparing new timber for sale, 2) Curtail new road construction for timber sales until the backlog is appreciably reduced, 3) Begin to include utility volume in all calculations of timber offered, sold, and harvested, 4) Investigate ways to improve scaling practices, and 5) Use the best available information and data pursuant to Section 6(k) of the NFMA.²⁵ A major concern that began to emerge had to do with below cost timber sales, and those were inextricably linked to the long-term timber contracts.

Below Cost Timber Sales

Of long-standing concern to outsiders reviewing the fiscal responsibility of the Forest Service was the apparent selling of National Forest timber below the cost of growing and preparing it for sale. Because of the very long term required to grow timber it is very difficult to allocate all the costs of production to its selling price. For this reason consideration of below cost timber sales usually relates to the more immediate concern that the Forest Service appeared to sell timber

for less than the real costs of processing the timber sale. Even then, only 75 percent of this sale price is paid into the Federal general fund. The remaining 25 percent goes to the state and local governments for schools and roads in lieu of taxes. The possibility that Alaska National Forest timber was being marketed, below cost, as pulpwood for Japanese markets was particularly alarming to many critics and environmentalists.

A report prepared in 1980 by the Natural Resources Defense Council, Inc., claimed that the Forest Service, on certain forests, had a long history of selling timber below the cost of administering timber sales. The report revealed that during 1974-1978 receipts-to-costs for the Tongass National Forest was 0.93 and for the Chugach it was 0.38, with an alleged loss of over \$4 million for the Tongass and nearly \$3 million for the Chugach.²⁶

A study by the Wilderness Society, reviewing the timber cuts for the years 1979-1984 indicated that the receipts-to-costs for the Tongass National Forest was 0.56 and for the Chugach it was 0.09. The Wilderness Society claimed that the long-term timber contract sales on the Tongass lost 91 cents on the dollar in 1983; 93 cents in 1984; and 99 cents on the dollar for 1985 and 1986.²⁷

Robert J. Mrazek (D-NY) of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources, estimated "a total loss of more than \$360 million" in the timber sale program during 1977-1986 in the Alaska Region. He criticized the preparation of timber sales without an underlying demand, pointing out that only 53 percent of the volume put up for sale was sold during the period 1980-1986.²⁸

The Region's rate of returns on timber sales worsened. In Fiscal Year 1987 the Alaska Region had only a 0.25 ratio of returns vs. expenditures on timber sales, as opposed to a ratio of 2.64 for the Pacific Northwest Region. Based on the 1988-1992 TSPIRS reports, according to Robert E. Wolf, a long-time interested party on below-cost timber sales, the average annual loss on the Chugach exceeded \$1,000 per acre (actually, \$2,448) and on the Tongass it was between \$500 and \$999 (actually, \$824).²⁹

Regional Forester Mike Barton addressed the below cost timber sales question in a special issue of *Sourdough Notes* in 1986. He stated that there was no real agreement of what constituted true timber sale costs. He illustrated this by stating that road costs are difficult

to assign since they have long-term benefits as well as benefits to move the timber in a particular timber sale. Road construction represented a substantial portion of the "costs" of harvesting timber in Alaska. But most of the roads in Southeast Alaska and many on the Gulf Coast and near Anchorage derived from Forest Service timber sales. The Forest Service (with the support of the General Accounting Office) argued that the cost of road construction could not be assigned wholly as a cost of a designated timber harvest. The question of who benefits from a timber sale expenditure was parried by Barton, who noted that benefits from National Forest or National Park visits are probably greater to those who visit them than to citizens who do not.³⁰

The reality is that elimination of below-cost timber sales, irrespective of the mechanisms used to compute the cost factors, would likely eliminate all timber sales from Region 10 National Forests. Below-cost sales, of course, were central elements used by environmentalists to oppose the long-term timber contracts. Conversely, below-cost timber sales were historically regarded by the Forest Service in Alaska as an integral and necessary part of their mission to promote the general welfare of the community.

The Long Term Timber Sale Contracts Come Under Attack

As discussed in Chapter IV, the long-term timber sale contracts in the Alaska Region were controversial from the beginning. They came under increasingly intense attack in the 1980s. The contract with the Alaska Pulp Corporation (APC) provides a good case example of the problems which arose.

In 1956, Alaska Lumber and Pulp, later Alaska Pulp Corporation (APC), entered into a long-term 50-year contract to purchase and log timber in Southeast Alaska. Since 1971 there have been a series of 5-year operating plans and environmental impact statements to satisfy requirements of NEPA. Provisions in ANCSA and ANILCA legislation resulted in deletion or deferral of harvest units, thus constantly affecting the 5-year operating plans.

During the 1980s there were significant changes in the long term timber sale contract with APC, some of those resulting from court action, and some from negotiation between the Forest Service and APC, with the most important changes resulting from Congressional legislation.

Even before passage of the Tongass Timber Reform Act the Alaska Region changed the contracts after negotia-

tions with the Alaska Pulp Corporation. Six major changes occurred, as follows:

- Allowance for arranging harvest units in smaller areas, equivalent to a series of smaller sales, instead of by 5-year operating plans, and to price stumpage on each on a more timely basis.
- A new provision allowed upward rate adjustments when market conditions warrant.
- Base rates for utility logs, those which are not high quality enough to make lumber, but usable for pulp, were doubled.
- The contract clearly stated that the Forest Service, and not APC, would select and designate the timber to be harvested.
- Once timber is designated, it must be harvested before new timber is designated. In other words, timber cannot be substantially deferred for later harvest.
- Contractual limits on reserving timber from harvest were eliminated.³¹

A "documentary history" of the long-term contracts requires the examination of nine basic documents listed below:

BASIC DOCUMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE LONG-TERM TIMBER CONTRACTS

1. Alaska Lumber and Pulp Company Timber Sale Contract; Contract Number 12-11-010-1545, 1956, with the Washington Office, Forest Service, Washington, D.C.
2. *Tongass Land Management Plan (TLMP)* and Final EIS, 1979.
3. Alaska Lumber and Pulp Company 1981-86 Operating Plan FEIS, 1980.
4. *Alaska Regional Guide*, November 1983 (incorporated by reference into the *Tongass Land Management Plan*).
5. Alaska Pulp Corporation 1986-90, *Operating Period FEIS, 1986 (1986-90 FEIS)*.
6. *Tongass Land Management Plan*, Amended, 1986.
7. Notice of Intent to prepare a Supplement to Environmental Impact Statements, published in the Federal Register on October 15, 1987.
8. *Alaska Pulp Corporation Long-Term Timber Sale Contract, Draft Supplement to the Environmental Impact Statements for the 1981-86 and 1986-90 Operating Periods, Phase I, August 1988*.
9. *Alaska Pulp Corporation Long-Term Timber Sale Contract, Final Supplement to the Environmental*

Impact Statements for the 1981-86 and 1986-90 Operating Periods, Analysis Area 6: Corner Bay. (R10-MB-81c)³² [note similar publications for Areas 2, 3 and 12].

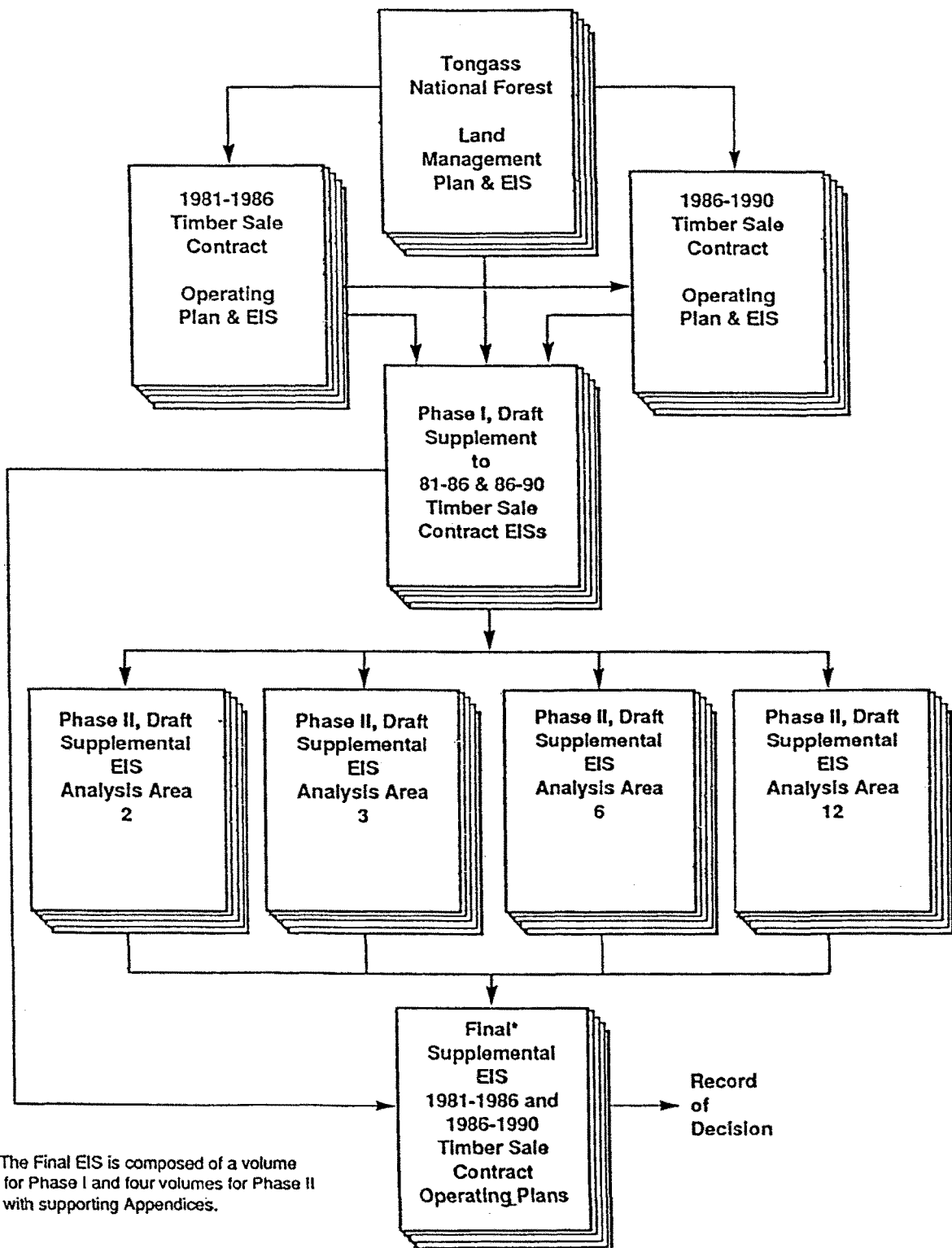
*The table on the following page illustrates the relationship of these publications to the four operating areas under the APC long-term contract.

In November 1986, the President approved the "Haida Land Exchange Act of 1986" which authorized a land purchase and transfer agreement between the United States and the Haida Village Native Corporation in Alaska. The Haida Corporation had two core townships, because the township line passed exactly through the town. Because of geography, in selecting lands to satisfy the ANCSA entitlement within the core townships of the tribe, the Haida Corporation failed to obtain timber lands commensurate with those obtained by other corporations and soon fell upon financial hard-times. While the Act to provide relief for the Haida Corporation technically amended or supplemented ANCSA, by transferring lands formerly available to selection under long-term contracts (this in the Ketchikan Area), the Act effectually amended or circumscribed the long-term contract.³³ So, of course, were the continuing transfers of lands under the Statehood Act, and ANCSA altering the conditions under which both Ketchikan Pulp Company, and APC operated.

In 1988 the Forest Service settled a lawsuit brought against it relating to the procedures used in preparing Environmental Impact Statements for timber sales. The settlement again altered the conditions relating to the APC contract. The Forest Service agreed to supplement the 1981-86 APC operating plan in a 1988 settlement of the lawsuit, *Tenakee Springs v. Courtright*. Under the decision the Forest Service decided to supplement the 1986-90 EISs as well as the 1981-86 EISs. This was done in a two-part document for each of the four areas affected by the lawsuit. Part I provided information and analysis of the issues, narrowing the focus from the whole APC Long-Term Timber Sale area to timber harvest and road construction in the four areas. Part II presented site-specific environmental impacts of harvesting and road-building on each area; there was a Unit Layout and Road Layout Location Card for each site, with the sites being delineated on aerial photographs.³⁴ The decision affected APC's (and Forest Service) costs involved in the preparation of timber sales under the long-term contract, and potentially reduced the acreage available to APC for harvest.

TABLE IX.1

The Relationship of this Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement to Earlier Documents



In 1990 plaintiffs including the "Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, City of Tenakee Springs, and several individuals," sought a preliminary injunction to halt scheduled harvest operations on portions of Chichagof and Kuiu Islands. The United States District Court of Alaska denied the requests to halt the harvest, which was authorized under a supplemental environmental impact statement (SEIS). Judge James Van der Heydt "concluded that Plaintiffs failed to raise serious questions about Forest Service compliance with the law [NEPA]." The ruling was short lived, because in July 1990 the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals granted the injunction to halt logging and road building until lower court rulings could be reviewed. The appellate court indicated that the suit brought by the plaintiffs would have little likelihood of being sustained on its merits when the case comes to trial.³⁵

During the *Tenakee Springs* actions, Congress began deliberating the Tongass Timber Reform Act which would substantively amend ANILCA. The key elements of the proposed Act would be to eliminate the \$40 million timber supply fund created by ANILCA to facilitate timber sales on the Tongass National Forest, and to dilute or eliminate the "4.5 billion board foot" timber harvest goal set under ANILCA. The object was to discourage timber sales and provide further protection for wilderness. There were also proposals to wholly eliminate the long-term timber contracts. Environmentalists, fishermen, and Native timber and subsistence advocates sought to curb timber harvests on the National Forests variously as a way to preserve the environment, protect fish and wildlife, remove competition with Native corporation timber sales, and protect Native subsistence interests. The coalition supporting the Tongass Timber Reform Act did not always reflect compatible interests, but did have a common cause.

The Hearing of May 19 & 21, 1987, on H.R. 1516, *Tongass Timber Reform Act*

The House Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, held formal hearings on the proposed Tongass Timber Reform Act on May 19 and 21, 1987. Morris Udall chaired the subcommittee, but Representative Sam Gejdenson (D-CT) presided in his place. The legislation, introduced by Representative Bob Mrazek (D-NY), called for repeal of sections 705(a) and 705(b) of ANILCA, those sections which established the Timber Supply Fund and the harvest quota. Gejdenson argued that because of the timber supply fund, the Tongass National Forest was the only one within the National

Forest System that was allowed to avoid the annual appropriation process.³⁶

Congressman Bruce F. Vento (D-MN) presented an opening statement about the controversial nature of the two sections of ANILCA which were being considered for repeal. He stated that Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland, at the time ANILCA was being considered, had claimed that "section 705 was a mandate to overcut the Tongass National Forest." Representative Mrazek, who was not a member of the subcommittee or committee, made brief comments, the salient feature of which was to note the decline in the timber economy in Alaska since the passage of ANILCA until the time of the hearings, and the financial losses incurred through timber sales from the Tongass National Forest. He stated that the number of forest-related jobs had decreased from 3,500 to 1,800 on the Tongass and the costs of harvests vastly outdistanced the returns. Chief F. Dale Robertson testified for the Forest Service. He admitted that harvest from the Tongass National Forest had declined from 450 million board feet in 1980 to about 250-275 million board feet in 1986, and that the Tongass cash flow was negative, but stated that changes being contemplated would be premature. He denied that timber harvesting operations were destroying fisheries and wildlife habitat.³⁷

Robert W. Loescher, Senior Vice President, Resource Management, Sealaska Corporation of Juneau, had a statement printed in the hearings record. He stated that the corporation had received title to about 226,283 acres that was formerly part of the Tongass National Forest and was due to be entitled to another 100,000 acres. He essentially questioned if the 450 million board feet was needed in light of the native corporations logging. He finally urged Congress to "firmly provide comprehensive policy oversight and direction ..." of Tongass timber policies.³⁸ Meanwhile, Representative Mrazek introduced an act that would simply eliminate the long-term contracts.

The Hearing of December 10, 1987, on H.R. 3556, *Alaskan Timber Contract Modification Act*
Hearings on Mrazek's proposal were held in Washington, D.C., by the Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The effect of the bill, if approved, would be to terminate the two long-term timber sales which had respectively 17 and 24 years remaining. Mrazek's bill was to address the other two thirds of the problem which he claimed H.R. 1516 (TTRA) would not address. Mrazek argued that the two long-term contracts had virtually eliminated competition in the bidding for

national forest timber on the Tongass National Forest. Mrazek's desires were these:

... my view is that a program which involves better investment for new jobs in southeast Alaska through this kind of capital investment fund, a flexible long term and short term management plan by the Forest Service, a guaranteed available timber supply, removing the controversial areas from being available for bid, represents a forward looking approach³⁹

Chief Robertson objected to Mrazek's bill on three grounds. First, he stated that the contracts had maintained a "stable, viable economy in Southeast Alaska; second, terminating contracts based on considerable capital investment might cause the Federal government liability; and, third, that the Forest Service could maintain timber production in Alaska."⁴⁰

Joseph Mehrkens, a former economist from Region 10 who resided in Alaska, represented the Wilderness Society. He testified that the five year contracts did not adjust stumpage prices during the term of the contract, and might not reflect market changes during the five year sale period.⁴¹ The prices at which the Forest Service sold timber under the long-term contracts, in other words, often failed to reflect actual market conditions. Timber prices could fluctuate widely even within a single calendar year.

Another witness, Steven Kalick, attorney for the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, offered a dire prediction for the future of Alaska should the long-term timber sales continue:

If Congress does not act to terminate the 50-year contracts, we Alaskans will soon be left with a wasteland of stumps, scrub timber, and roads to nowhere. Our now healthy fishing and tourism industries will most likely be damaged, perhaps destroyed. Subsistence dependent Natives and rural people will suffer without deer and salmon to eat. There will be no timber left that can sustain a permanent logging industry.⁴²

Industry spokespersons vigorously opposed Mrazek's bill, arguing to the contrary, the elimination of the long-term contracts would greatly undermine the welfare of the people of Alaska.

The Hearing of May 25-26, 1988 on Management on the Tongass National Forest

No bills passed Congress in 1986 or 1987, and debate

continued in 1988. The House Subcommittee on Forests, Family Farms, and Energy of the Committee on Agriculture conducted hearings in Washington, D.C., on May 25 and 26, 1988, on the management on the Tongass National Forest. The hearing, chaired by subcommittee chair Harold L. Volkmer (D-MO), was called to consider H.R. 1516, "To require annual appropriations of funds necessary to support timber management and resource conservation on the Tongass National Forest." The proposed legislation had three "titles", which basically defined its intent: "Alaska Lands Act" amendments, "Tongass Contract Reforms," and "A Moratorium on Harvesting."⁴³

In his testimony, Chief Dale Robertson stated that he believed that enactment of H.R. 1516 was premature. He further stated that any changes needed could be handled administratively by the Forest Service. Joseph R. Mehrkens, the former Forest Service employee who was now an economist with the Wilderness Society, testified in support of H.R. 1516. He emphasized three items: a recent GAO report which stated that expenditures for Tongass timber production increased but harvests decreased, that while annual timber expenditures have decreased they still remained above pre-ANILCA levels in real dollars, and that there was a continued lack of balance in program funding. Long-time forestry consultant Carl Newport of the firm of Mason, Bruce & Girard, Inc., also testified. He pleaded that Section 705 of ANILCA not be repealed on the grounds that to do so would bring the demise of the Alaska timber industry and adversely affect the welfare of thousands.⁴⁴ The Senate also pursued the Tongass timber issue.

Senate Hearing of February 28, 1989, on S. 237, To Reform the Tongass Timber Supply Fund, and S. 346, Tongass Timber Reform Act

A series of three hearings were held in 1989 and 1990 by the Senate, relating to several matters affecting the Tongass National Forest. The first was held February 28, 1989. It addressed two items: the Tongass Timber Supply Fund, and reforming timber management on the Tongass. George Leonard, Associate Chief of the Forest Service, testified in behalf of the Forest Service. He stated that reform need not go beyond the changes prescribed in S. 237. He further stated that the Forest Service did not support or object to S. 237. In fact, he urged that Congress make no changes in the way matters on the Tongass were handled until completion of the draft revision of the TLMP. He stated that the Forest Service was opposed to S. 346, which would terminate the long-term timber sales contracts and impose a moratorium on timber sales or harvest on 23 areas in the Tongass.⁴⁵

Larry Edwards, President of the Board of the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, testified in support of both bills. He stated, among other things, that the bills would bring balanced management to the Tongass, that the Tongass Timber Supply Fund was economically unsound, that the huge timber sale budget is environmentally unsound and that Alaskans opposed it, that fish and wildlife habitat was threatened, and that the long-term timber contracts should be terminated.⁴⁶

The Wilderness Society also presented testimony, based on its two-year study of the Tongass National Forest. The Society argued that large scale timber operations in Alaska could not be defended, that logging and road building would destroy a major portion of the forests, and that long-term sales made long-range planning impossible.⁴⁷ Finally, by 1989, after approximately three years of deliberation, what would become the Tongass Timber Reform Act began to take final shape in Congress.

In 1989 H.R. 987, called the Tongass Timber Reform Act, was filed in the House of Representatives. According to Associate Chief George W. Leonard, as proposed, the bill would:

... repeal sections 705(a) and 705(d) of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA), terminate the existing long-term timber sale contracts in Alaska, and create wildernesses on 23 areas of the Tongass National Forest.⁴⁸

During hearings on H.R. 987, Joseph R. Mehrkens, now Executive Director of the Southeast Alaska Natural Resources Center testified. He said that the long-term contracts with Louisiana Pacific-Ketchikan and Alaska Pulp Corporation were inflexible and not adaptable to changing economic conditions. He also discussed ANILCA which encouraged the Forest Service to increase the size of the timber program on the Tongass in the face of a declining timber industry no longer dependent upon timber from the Tongass National Forest.⁴⁹

Robert Loescher maintained that some of the provisions of H.R. 987 should be followed but he could not support the entire bill. He reported on a very informative telephone poll of people in southeast Alaska taken for Sealaska. About one-half of the respondents felt that the long-term contracts should be modified, but agreed that timber was at least the third most important industry in southeast Alaska (following fishing and tourism). Two-thirds of the respondents, however, wanted more land on the Tongass placed off-limits to

road construction and logging. But 90% approved Tongass management and believed that a viable timber industry could co-exist with viable fishing and tourism industries. In closing, Loescher urged a swift compromise on the Tongass issue. He believed that the Tongass National Forest could and should balance employment opportunities in the timber industry with environmental protection.⁵⁰

George M. Leonard, Associate Chief of the Forest Service, testified that the Forest Service strongly opposed H.R. 987, to which Representative James A. McDermott (D-WA) stated somewhat sarcastically: "Imagine our surprise." Leonard stated that the contract with Ketchikan Pulp Company had been renegotiated. He urged no Congressional action until the new TLMP would be prepared and a draft plan could be reviewed for public comment.⁵¹

Public hearings on the pending legislation were held in Ketchikan, Alaska, April 24, 1989, and in Sitka on April 25. A large number of individuals spoke at these hearings. The Southeast Conference presented its policy statement on the Tongass National Forest (discussed earlier) at the hearing. They would, 1) allow up to 4.5 billion board feet to be harvested every ten years, 2) establish an intensive management fund to make marginal timber sales, 3) set aside 12 areas for protection of fish and wildlife production, 4) provide additional areas of non-wilderness land for the timber base, and 5) provide grants and loans to strengthen the Southeast Alaska economy.⁵²

Martin R. Pihl, President and General Manager of Ketchikan Pulp Company testified at the hearing in Ketchikan. As would be expected, he strongly opposed the legislation, stating:

Since so many erroneous statements have been made about the topic, my remarks today will deal primarily with the long-term contract between the United States and Ketchikan Pulp Company (110fs-1042), as currently modified. It should be made clear at the outset, however, that for reasons detailed in earlier testimony we respectfully oppose passage of the legislation which is designed to undo the 1980 ANILCA compromise, to circumvent the Congressionally-mandated planning process, to lock up additional land base, and to lower the harvest levels on the Tongass National Forest.⁵³

On July 13, 1989, the House of Representatives passed the comprehensive Tongass Reform Act, H.R. 987, by a 356-60 margin. However, the Senate failed to act. Two

bills concerning the Tongass were introduced in the Senate, sponsored by Senator Timothy E. Wirth (D-CO) and the other by Senator Murkowski of Alaska. The House attempted to hurry the bill up by including H.R. 987 to the budget reconciliation Bill in September, but the Senate had no Tongass bill attached to its budget recommendation. S. 237, A Tongass Reform Bill, had not yet been approved in the Senate. The Budget reconciliation Conference Committee could find no compromise, so the bill was dropped from the budget.⁵⁴

In the Spring of 1990, the Senate dropped S. 237, and devoted attention to H.R. 987. The Senate subcommittee conducted final hearings on H.R. 987 on February 26. The Region 10 testimony and position came to the subcommittee after the usual circuitous routing. Prepared in the Regional Office, the document went to the Washington Office for review and clearance, and, finally, to the Office of Management and Budget. This took time since "one position," had to be taken by the administration.⁵⁵

The hearing, according to Senator J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA), was to "take testimony on those portions of H.R. 987 relating to fisheries protection and buffer zones and those provisions relating to the designation of additional wilderness areas in the Tongass National Forest." Most of the testimony, however, seemed to be directed to the timber aspects of the proposed legislation. That was particularly true in the cases of testimony by Senator Murkowski of Alaska, who authored the legislation; George Leonard, Associate Chief of the Forest Service; and in a report prepared by the McDowell Group for the Alaska Loggers Association.⁵⁶

On March 7, 1990, the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources met to consider the markup of the bill. The Committee used amendments proposed by Senator Bennett Johnston, chairman, and passed the bill on a 19-0 vote. The Senate bill deleted the \$40 million Tongass Timber Supply Fund, deleted the 4.5 billion per decade mandate, placed nearly 700,000 acres in a permanent LUD II designation, created 1.8 million acres of wilderness area, and provided 100 foot and 300 foot buffer strips on streams. The bill then went to the Senate Floor for final approval, and then to a conference committee to reconcile differences between the Senate and House versions.⁵⁷

The Tongass Timber Reform Act And Tongass Land Management

The Tongass Timber Reform Act (TTRA) became law with the President's approval on November 28, 1990. According to K. J. Metcalf, the Tongass Timber Reform

Act can be summarized by four actions: 1) It repealed the \$40 million minimum perpetual subsidy and eliminated the environmentally unsound 4.5 billion board feet per decade timber supply requirement of ANILCA. 2) It provided 100 foot buffer strips on both sides of salmon streams and important tributaries. 3) It supplemented the two long term timber contracts with standard competitive-bid, short-term sales. And finally, 4) It protected as wilderness 1.8 million acres of prime fish and wildlife habitat, the best of the best, while still allowing more than enough timber for industry.⁵⁸ The TTRA led the Forest Service to abolish the 5-year operating periods used under the long-term contracts. Designated selection areas were substituted with "offering areas." Each offering area was to resemble a short-term sale offering which has its own independent NEPA documents and stumpage prices.⁵⁹

TTRA created five new wilderness areas, and added 300,000 acres to an existing one. Twelve new LUD II Areas totalling about 727,000 acres were mandated, where commercial timber harvest and road construction were not allowed. The Act repealed the 4.5 million board foot per decade mandate and eliminated (beginning with fiscal year 1992) the timber supply fund. The Tongass Timber Supply Fund, an outgrowth of the ANILCA settlement, was an approximate \$40 million annual appropriation by Congress to help prepare timber sales 1.5 to 2 years in advance. Budget requests usually ranged from somewhat over \$50 million (FY 1986) to \$40 million (FY 1989). Expenditures from the fund for 1990 were as follows: \$15 million for the timber program, \$1.5 million for reforestation and timber stand improvement, about \$11 million for construction of roads and bridges, \$1.7 million for a log transfer site, \$900 thousand for the Tongass Plan revision, and over \$6 million for general administration. Future funding for the Tongass National Forest would come exclusively from annual appropriations.⁶⁰

The Forest Service maintained at the time that it would require large appropriations when handling marginal stands forced upon them by the reduction of the timber management land base. Their case was made with special emphasis on fisheries and recreation resource. The legislation required that long-term operators could only harvest higher volume class timber within long term sale areas proportional to the occurrence within the sales area. That is, the long term operators could not select wholly high-class timber for any one cut. In addition, each cut required 100-foot buffers on each side of anadromous and other important fish streams.⁶¹

A nuance of the Tongass Timber Reform Act (Section 301(c)(2)) was that timber volume classes with more

than 30,000 board feet per acre, had to be harvested in proportion to their occurrence in each of the 141 *Tongass Land Management Plan* Management Areas. However, the current timber type map on the forest is not accurate enough to allow this calculation to be made.⁶² An additional outcome of the TTRA was that the stumpage prices paid in the two long-term timber sales were adjusted quarterly "to make the rate paid for timber harvested on the long term sales comparable to the rates paid for timber harvested from short term sales."⁶³

The Tongass Timber Reform Act effectively altered the conditions, if not the terms, of the long term timber contracts. In November 1992, the Ketckikan Pulp Company claimed that the TTRA was a breach its long-term timber contract. In early December 1992, the Alaska Pulp Company wrote to the Regional Office and challenged the Forest Service interpretation and implementation of parts of TTRA. Al Aitken, in timber management at the Regional Office, said that TTRA was unilaterally passed by Congress and was not negotiated with the companies. Aitken further stated that the General Accounting Office had reviewed the contract changes and found the Forest Service to be in compliance with the Act. Regional Forester Barton said that any changes would have to be submitted to Congressional review.⁶⁴ The situation rested there for a few years, but repercussions of TTRA on the long-term timber contracts continued to unfold. Repercussions of TTRA on forest planning were more immediate.

TTRA and Tongass Forest Planning

TTRA required revision of the *Tongass Land Management Plan*. Scarcely had the ink dried on the draft DEIS completed in 1990, than TLMP changed again:

As a result of the 1990 Tongass Timber Reform Act land use designations, direction regarding timber demand, long term sale contract modifications and stream buffer requirements, all alternatives displayed in the June, 1990, DEIS changed.⁶⁵

Region 10 decided to produce an interim or supplemental plan, rather than the revised Tongass Land Management Plan scheduled for release in 1990.

The product this time would in effect be a revision of the *Tongass Land Management Plan Revision*, including revision of the environmental impact statements, the proposed revised forest plan, the supplement and its appendixes, as well as a set of maps. The human effort put into the post-TTRA TLMP revisions was massive,

financially costly, and impressive in physical size. The final package "weighed in" at 23.5 pounds.⁶⁶ The plan revision had to incorporate and abide by several laws and regulations which applied to all National Forest System lands, including NEPA, RPA, and NFMA, and three laws specific to Alaska. These were the Alaska Statehood Act of 1959, ANCSA and ANILCA.

The "Interdisciplinary Team - Core Team" for the *Tongass Land Management Plan Revision* was a large one. Its leader, beginning in February 1989, was Steven A. Brink, a 22 year veteran of the Forest Service with six years experience in Alaska, and a civil engineering graduate of the University of California-Davis. Other members of the core team were David Arrasmith, economist/analyst; Norene Blair, writer-editor, Forrest Cole, timber/subsistence coordinator; John Day, FORPLAN analyst; Ron Freeman, forester/support specialist on TLMP; Eugene J. DeGayner, resource information manager; Donald K. Golnick, forester; Rick Griffen, GIS database administrator and analyst; Jane Hurst, computer programmer analyst; Steven Kessler, fish biologist; Connie G. Myers, public affairs specialist/social scientist; John Neary, outdoor recreation planner; Mark L. Orme, wildlife biologist; Bruce Rene, natural resource planner; Lance H. Tyler, recreation planner; and Bill Wilson, timber planner. There were also many supplemental or extended ID team members and other contributors.⁶⁷ Public interest and participation in TLMP revision work is evidenced by the very large in-put generated by public hearings, written statements, letters and editorials.

Written Comments on the TLMP—Overwhelming

Written comments concerning planning on the Tongass National Forest were unusually voluminous as compared to other forest plan programs. The comment period for the Tongass DEIS was June 25, 1990 to January 3, 1991, which included a three-month extension due to passage of TTRA. For the supplement the comment period was September 6, 1991 through December 6, 1991. The following table reveals their extent:

Table IX.2
Tongass National Forest
A Few Statistics on Written Comments

	1990	1991	
	DEIS	Supplement	Total
<u>Source</u>	<u>Number of Comments</u>		
Alaska:			
Southeast	1,175	3,100	4,275
Other Alaska	480	575	1,055
Lower 48:			
West Coast	525	1,970	2,495
Central	585	950	1,535
East Coast	590	350	940
Other	5	5	10
Total	3,360	6,950	10,310

Comments concerning environmental protection stressed "possible adverse effects of timber harvest on the environment" or "the amount and location of timber harvest and associated road construction." Comments concerning commodity development, especially those included on form letters from the timber industry, stressed providing timber to supply market demand, development of the acres not set-aside for non-timber uses, and economic development of tourism, fishing, timber and mining. Possible adverse effects of timber harvesting on the traditional subsistence use of the forest were the concerns of rural Alaska residents.⁶⁹ Although it did not become a matter of public concern, the TLMP revisions implemented some almost "subliminal" forest management changes by changing the clustering and definition of Land Use Designations (LUDs), and changing the use of terminology.

For example, in the *Tongass Land Management Plan Revision, Supplement to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Summary*, land use designations were handled as "LUD Groups." But the "groups" were not associated in previous management plans. Moreover, the "use" designations had subtly, but significantly changed. The names and areas included in each LUD are as follows:

I. Wilderness LUD Group: Wilderness, Wilderness National Monument, Nonwilderness National Monument.

II. Natural Setting LUD Group: Research Natural Area, Other Area, Beach Fringe and Estuary, Primitive Recreation, Enacted Municipal Watershed, Old-Growth Habitat, Semiprimitive Recreation, Land Use Designation II, Special Interest Areas, Wild Rivers, Scenic Rivers, Recreation Rivers.

III. Moderate Development LUD Group: Experi-

mental Forests, Scenic Viewshed, Modified Landscape, Fish Habitat and Water Quality Requirements, Stream and Lake Protection.

IV. Intensive Development LUD Group: Timber Production, Minerals, Transportation and Utility Systems.⁷⁰

The term "timber production" had been removed from LUD III, but timber harvesting was still allowed in the land use designations Timber Production, Modified Landscape, and Scenic Viewshed.⁷¹ In addition, under the five alternatives offered in the DEIS average annual timber harvest during the first decade of the plan revision varied from 13,500 acres (Alternative A) to 18,800 acres (Alternatives B & D).⁷²

In the new (and current) management planning on the Tongass and Chugach National Forests land allocations were made in terms of Land Use Designations (LUDs). LUD I was land designated as wilderness and LUD II was allocated as roadless backcountry. LUD III was classified as multiple use management with emphasis on amenity values. LUD IV was land assigned to multiple use management with emphasis on commodity or market resources and their uses. LUDs III and IV included land available for timber production.⁷³

Land Allocations in 1993 After TLMP and TTRA

The land allocations on the Tongass National Forest as of 1993 based on revised geographic information system (GIS) data are as follows:

Table IX.3
Tongass National Forest Inventory
from Revised GIS

Category	Total Land	Total CFL	Tentatively (available if not withdrawn)
	Suitable Acres	Acres	
ANILCA Wilderness	5,621,182	1,633,334	1,228,165
TTRA Wilderness	299,697	163,416	126,442
Total Wilderness	5,920,879	1,796,750	1,354,607
TLMP LUD II	2,511,030	473,965	289,385
TTRA LUD II	727,762	806,595	241,434
Total LUD II	3,238,792	806,595	530,819
TTRA Stream Buffer	421,487	165,069	126,992
Tongass Total	16,997,181	5,763,662	2,561,561 ⁷³

Under the Tongass Timber Reform Act, lands identified as unsuitable for timber production need not be managed to promote other economic uses. Under common forestry practices, lands can easily be identified that are unsuitable for timber production, and sale quantities can be determined on the remainder. About 30 percent of

the timber base on the Tongass is "below cost," and identified in the *TLMP Revision Supplement to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement* as "isolated" or with "difficult operability." This means that the available timber base is considerably less than that indicated by the statistics.⁷⁵

Another factor affecting harvests on old-growth forests is the maintenance of wildlife habitat. Much concern has been expressed that old growth on the Tongass National Forest must not be harvested in order to maintain the wildlife population. According to the planning team on the Tongass there is enough deer habitat on those portions of the forest not qualified or scheduled for timber harvest to maintain the deer herd at levels sufficient to allow the quotas of deer currently being taken by hunters. Two and one-half million acres of old growth on the Tongass has been identified as suitable for harvest. It is anticipated that over time, 1.7 million acres, or 68% of the old-growth timber would be harvested. Over the past 37 years only 8 percent of the old growth forest available for harvest has been taken.⁷⁶

Approximately 557,000 acres of old growth forest on the Tongass is capable of producing volumes per acre greater than 30,000 board feet. About 239,000 acres, or 43 percent, of this area has been withdrawn from timber production and potential harvest by Congress, the President or the Chief of the Forest Service. Additionally, there are another 116,000 acres of these high volume stands effectually withdrawn because they have no commercial value due to their isolation or "operability" factors. Although much of the public scrutiny of Tongass timber harvest practices relate to below cost sales, the Tongass National Forest timber program, using a 3-year average net revenue (FY 1990-1992) basis before payments to the states, is \$7.2 million in the black. The Forest did show a loss of \$10 million in FY 1992.⁷⁷ Ecosystem management will begin to affect timber production and sales on the Tongass, and will mandate new changes in management practices, as well as further revisions to the land management plan. In anticipation of these changes induced by ecosystem measurements and management, timber managers on the Tongass are working on five items. They are 1) Re-examining the adequacy of the Timber Sale Program Information Reporting System (TSPIRS), 2) Analyzing the causes of below cost sales and their justification, 3) Studying opportunities to make sales show a positive cash flow, 4) Studying timber sales to determine if they are the appropriate tool to achieve stated objectives, and 5) Examining methods for improving the cost efficiency of timber sales.⁷⁸ (During Fiscal Year 1990 the average cost of a timber sale on the Tongass National

Forest was \$25.79 per thousand board feet; in Fiscal Year 1991 it was \$32.50 per thousand board foot. The two fiscal year costs for the Chugach National Forest were respectively, \$347.40 and \$253.52)⁷⁹

The forest planning process has recently become subject to a "National Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy" established by the Chief of the Forest Service in January 1993. The monitoring and evaluation strategy requires forest supervisors to prepare an annual monitoring and evaluation report and make it subject to public information and review. The supervisor is also to "annually certify that the forest plan is sufficient to guide management of the forest over the next year or propose needed changes and an approach for dealing with those changes." Thus, the Tongass Proposed Forest Plan Revision answers 31 monitoring questions raised by the evaluation strategy, and is in part conditioned by that strategy.⁸⁰

By 1995 the revised Tongass land Management Plan had still not been issued although it was once scheduled for FY 1992, then rescheduled for completion near the end of calendar year 1992. According to Steve Kessler, the revised *Tongass Land Management Plan* was further delayed because of the need for updated resource information and changes in emphasis brought about by the new Democratic administration which took office in January 1993.⁸¹ The change from Democratic to Republican control of Congress that occurred in the November 1994 elections could further delay release of the revised TLMP. Alaska, it must be remembered, more so than any other Region of the Forest Service, answers directly to Congress.

Another reason for the delay in the production of a final TLMP revision may be due to wanting "too much and too perfect" a plan. As Steve Kessler, a member of the TLMP Revision Team explained:

... the whole concept of revising the plan, is one ... we haven't handled well because it has normally been the feeling that we want a final completed, bulletproof plan that will last for the next ten years. That's obviously not going to happen, and both the NFMA process and NEPA very much allow for an ongoing amendment kind of approach to management.⁸²

The point is, forest land management planning has become an ongoing and constant process. A "forest plan" no longer has an inherent integrity or longevity,

but it is nonetheless essential to effective forest management.

Chugach National Forest Land and Resource Management Plan Revision

In May 1994 the Chugach National Forest issued a draft work plan for the revision of the *Land and Resource Management Plan*. It called for the draft EIS and Plan to be issued November, 1996, and the final EIS and Plan was scheduled to be issued in February, 1998. The forest allocated an estimated \$664,000 for Fiscal Year 1995, \$766,000 for Fiscal Year 1996 and \$691,000 in Fiscal Year 1997 for this planning effort.⁸³ On both the Chugach and the Tongass National Forest, the planning process has become a greater part of forest management, and the costs of planning absorb a larger and larger proportion of Forest resources.

Several elements of the Chugach Forest Plan are to receive substantial re-evaluation in the revision, including ecosystem management, timber suitability and allowable sale quantity studies, roadless area analysis, recommendations for wilderness and wild and scenic rivers. There are to be new forest management standards and guidelines, and revised forest plan budget and subsistence allowances. There are to be four phases to the forest plan revision work and nine planning actions. A long list of data layers is scheduled, and "An Analysis of the Management Situation." A team of five, headed by Team Leader Gary Lehnhausen, were selected to direct and manage the revision work. This team would be supported by an extended ID team of sixteen persons, and of course, personnel from all over the forest might ultimately contribute.⁸⁴

Consistent with existing Forest Service directives and policy, the Chugach Plan revision, as is true with the Tongass Land Management Plan revision, involves extensive public participation. The Chugach "Draft Work Plan" for revision of *Chugach National Forest Land and Resource Management Plan* proposes to a) involve the public in an interactive process ..., b) to encourage the dialogue with the public concerning the scientific, social, environmental, and economic factors ..., c) to build consensus and ownership with our publics ..., and (d) to keep public interest and involvement at a high level ...".⁸⁵

The reality is that the Tongass Timber Reform Act, ANCSA, and ANILCA, as well as Alaska Statehood, NEPA and other laws have combined to substantially reduce the timber management base on the Alaska

National Forests. Multiple-Use, subsistence, independent court actions, and ecosystem management further define and often constrain the nature of timber management on both the Chugach and the Tongass.

The Declining Base for Timber Management

In 1950, about the time that the long-term timber contracts began, potential commercial timberland on the Tongass National Forest totaled 6.4 million acres. Losses of National Forest land because of statehood in 1959 reduced the potential commercial timberland acreage to 6.2 million acres. By 1971 the acreage was reduced to approximately 5.7 million as a result of ANCSA. According to a research publication, *The Forest Ecosystem of Southeast Alaska*, in 1975 there were 5,331,577 acres of commercial forest land on the Tongass National Forest. A computer run dated March 21, 1978, listed 5,036,753 acres of commercial forest land on the Tongass National Forest, or 32.86 percent of its total area of 15,284,227 acres. ANILCA further reduced the potential acreage for timber production to 4.1 million acres.⁸⁶ Throughout the 1980s, as previously noted, environmental groups became increasingly opposed to the 4.5 billion board foot per decade allowable cut on the Tongass authorized by ANILCA. The Wilderness Society in 1987, flatly opposed all logging on the Tongass, holding that, "Logging on the Tongass presents the most egregious example of taxpayer waste on the National Forest System."⁸⁷

Although there is much less land suitable for timber production on the Chugach National Forest, that base has also declined from 1980 to present. The Wilderness Society explained that:

Large-scale timbering on these [Alaska] forests is indefensible by any economic measure. Yet, the plan for the Chugach called for a 710 percent increase in timber sales over recent harvest levels of 2.1 mmbf. Conservationists objected to this proposal in appealing the final [Forest] plan....⁸⁸

In July 1984 there were considered to be 347,489 acres of "productive forest land base" on the Chugach National Forest. The vast majority of this was in the hemlock/spruce forest type. Ten years later, in Fiscal Year 1993, the Chugach National Forest considered only 94,000 acres of its land as suitable for timber production.⁸⁹

Since 1959, legislative changes have resulted in a

continuing reduction in the importance of timber resources on the Alaska National Forests. Court actions, and public participation in the planning processes, as well as improved ecosystem management principles, have further eroded the timber base. Each change made on the Tongass Land Management Plan during the 1980s reflects a reduction in the acreage on which timber management could be practiced. The Region, nonetheless was compelled to maintain an acreage of land "considered as capable of producing industrial wood products as described in the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) Regulations 36 CFR 219.14(a)(1) through (4)," and consistent with the terms of the long-term timber contracts.

Actually the definition of land "capable of producing industrial wood products as described in NFMA" is quite complex. It comprises those forested lands:

producing or capable of producing crops of industrial wood and (a) have not been withdrawn by Congress, the Secretary, or the Chief; (b) where existing technology and knowledge is available to ensure timber production without irreversible damage to soils, productivity, or watershed conditions; (c) existing technology and knowledge, as reflected in current research and experience, provides reasonable assurance that adequate restocking can be attained within 5 years after final harvest; and d) adequate information is available to project responses to timber management activities.⁹⁰

After the June 1990 TLMP revision was issued, of the 16,955,945 acres on the Tongass, only 3,065,976 acres were listed as suitable for timber management. (One source stated that the acreage was 3.4 million as a result of TTRA deductions of commercial timberland.) Slightly over a year later, the August 1991 supplement to the TLMP Revision indicated there would be only 1,261,000 acres suitable for timber management if management Alternative A were chosen, and 1,989,000 acres if Alternative D were chosen. Suitable land scheduled for harvest would be less than either number. A briefing paper on the Tongass National Forest, issued August 4, 1993, classified 1,938,978 acres of the forest as "Suitable Forest Lands To Consider For Timber Harvest." The acreage came from four LUDs: scenic viewshed, modified landscape, timber production, and riparian area. An official 1994 slide-video presentation from the Regional Office, sets the amount of timberland available for commercial production at 1.7 million acres. This 1.7 million acre figure however, was mentioned by Alaska Senator Murkowski as early as December 1989,

in hearings conducted in Washington, D.C.⁹¹ The net product is a dramatic reduction in the available commercial timberland base on the Tongass National Forest between 1950 to 1994—from 6.4 million to 1.7 million acres (Table 1), and a decline of the already limited timber resources of the Chugach National Forest from perhaps one-half million acres to one hundred thousand acres.

Table XI.4 Decline in Available Commercial Timberland Tongass National Forest					
(The data previously cited are for acres. The volume data for timber budgets on the Tongass shows a similar decline, as follows):					
Timber Budget in the Alaska Region					
Fiscal Year	Actual Accompl.	Approp. Act.	Pres. Budget	Dept. Allow.	Agency Req.
Million Board Feet					
1978		557	604	545	554
1979	650	645	623	660	561
1980	579	560	560	560	560
1981	546	546	536	500	500
1982	523	490	485	500	500
1983	469	460	490	490	500
1984	478	485	460	500	510
1985	434	460	460	460	460
1986	384	434	460	460	460
1987	411	380	434	461	461
1988	349	350	380	380	380
1989	322	319	319	319	319
1990	338	380	333	333	333
1991	356	383	353	353	410
1992	425	415	420	420	420

Miller T. Ross, Timber Staff Officer on the Chatham Area, Tongass National Forest, expects the land base for timber management to decrease even further. As he said in June 1994, "I anticipate a further downsizing of the amount of volume in our timber program," due to the increasing competitive number of uses for land on the Tongass and the need to accommodate them all.⁹³

Timber Sales in the Alaska Region

The Rigorous New World of Timber Sales

Since the majority of the timber sales from Region 10 are conducted on the Tongass National Forest, this discussion primarily focuses on the Tongass. The conduct of timber sales on National Forest System Lands is now a very complicated business. Not that it ever was uncomplicated, but now, in order to comply with NEPA and other legislation, there is additional work

which must take place in planning timber sales, in appraising the value of the timber, in the bidding process, in laying out and administering the sale, and in trying to avoid below-cost sales, and in reporting results. In almost every case, Environmental Assessments or EIS's are necessary for timber sales.

There are three types of timber sales on the Tongass National Forest: (1) the 50-year long term contracts and the 150 million board feet per year short term (Independent) sale program divided into (2) small business set-asides and (3) regular bidder sales.

Planning for a single timber sale as explained in the 1988 book, *People of the Tongass*, is as complicated as the forest planning process. It is also a job for a committee. What is used is called the Gate System.

Gate 1 is a position statement. Each timber sale has to be entered into the forest's Ten Year Action Plan, and when the sale is ready to be planned a Position Statement for the sale has to be made. Position statements are either made at the headquarters of one of the area offices of the Tongass or at the ranger district.

Gate 2 is the Sale Area Design stage. Here is where public involvement occurs and an environmental analysis is made. According to Barton this encompasses "the public involvement and the environmental analysis, and then ... different alternatives, ... logging plans, and ... a signed NEPA document, usually an 'EA' or Environmental Assessment, which is simpler, less voluminous, and less expensive than a full EIS" Barton adds that getting through Gate 2 is complicated and involves forming an ID team to do public involvement and design of the sale. Sale design involves using aerial photographs and topographic maps to visualize the sale units on the ground. There is extensive on-the-ground reconnaissance work, and formulation of a full range of alternatives and projected impacts. Logging and environmental standards must be assessed. Finally, the plan must be available for public comment.

Gate 3 is preparation of the Timber Sale Preparation Report which is used by field personnel to actually lay out the timber sale. Gate 4 is the Advertisement or Notice. This involves making a cost appraisal, preparing timber sale maps and instruction documents, preparing the contract and prospectus and offering the sale. Gate 5 is Bid Opening Date, and finally, Gate 6 is awarding the timber sale contract. The gate process insures a logical sequence of events and a quality control procedure so the sales are prepared and carried

out correctly.⁹⁴

Timber Sale Program Information Reporting System

In response to complaints about below-cost timber sales, "Congress directed the Forest Service to develop and implement a timber sale cost accounting system." The result was that the Forest Service, working with the General Accounting Office (GAO), instituted the Timber Sale Program Information Reporting System (TSPIRS). The system calls for annual reports containing three crucial elements from each national forest. A Financial Account report displays revenues and costs on each National Forest for the fiscal year. An Economic Account report displays the long-term costs and benefits of a National Forest's timber program. This report gives a perspective for the future flow of timber and associated nontimber resource costs and benefits. An Employment and Income Account report displays employment and income in communities generated by a fiscal year's harvest.⁹⁵ An important element of the sale is the appraisal.

Timber Appraisals

Throughout its history, the Forest Service has been in the business of appraising timber before it is put up for bid and sale. The Forest Service is required by statute to appraise timber, which is to establish a value under which the timber will not be sold. The process in Alaska uses a "residual value" method to determine fair market value. This calculation is arrived at by estimating the sale value of materials which will probably be produced from the timber, then subtracting logical and reasonable costs of producing the product and an allowance for reasonable profit and risk by the operator. The result is what is called the "appraised value." The Forest Service in making this type of calculation looks at the present day value, while the bidding operators look at the value of timber when it will be harvested in the future. This often results in bidding much higher values than those appraised. Lower product prices after a sale has been consummated often resulted in an economic disadvantage to the bidder, so the Federal Timber Payment Modification Act was passed in 1984 which allows bidders to "buy out" the timber at less than the cost of a normal contract default.⁹⁶

Critics of the Forest Service basic timber appraisal system believe that the Forest Service appraised prices are lower than market timber prices and thus the agency is subsidizing the logging industry. Since appraisal is an inexact science, this often appears to be the case, but it may not really be so.

Not only was the GAO interested in the conduct of Forest Service timber appraisals in Alaska, but Congress as well. On April 25, 1989, the Subcommittee on Forests, Family Farms and Energy of the House Committee on Agriculture conducted a hearing to review timber appraisal on the Tongass National Forest. The list of witnesses this time was short: George A. Craig, a professional forester appeared on behalf of the Alaska Loggers Association. Other witnesses included David H. Jackson, Professor at the University of Montana; George M. Leonard, Associate Chief, USDA Forest Service; Mark Pawlicki, National Forests Products Association; and Richard E. Rice, resource economist, the Wilderness Society. Associate Chief Leonard discussed the difficulties which the residual system of stumpage appraisal has encountered, and mentioned that an alternative method, "Transaction evidence," is being used in two eastern regions and had been recently tested in the Southwestern Region.

Note: Basically, this system begins with an estimate of the volume, quality and mix of products which will be produced and sold from standing national forest timber and what its price will be. From this is subtracted the cost of logging and milling to produce products f.o.b. the mill. Also subtracted is a reasonable allowance for profit and risk. The remainder, the residual value, is the advertised price for that timber. Operators may bid higher prices than the residual value; if there is no competition, the sale price may be the residual value. The major problem with this system is that Forest Service appraisers must "beat the industry bidders at their own game," by assessing their production methods and utilization outcomes, for which the bidders have intimate knowledge.

At the time of testimony, sales averaged \$68 per thousand board feet in the KPC sale and were soon expected to be in the \$60-70 range on the APC sale. Richard Rice, with the Wilderness Society, believed that the transaction evidence method of timber appraisal would be good for the Alaska Region. But George Craig, with the Alaska Loggers Association, who had experience in the timber appraisal business as a valuation person and who was a critic of the Forest Service appraisal system for decades, rejected transaction evidence as inappropriate for the Tongass.⁹⁷ Valuations and timber pricing, particularly for a five-year operating plan, was extremely difficult. Timber prices can be highly volatile even in the short term.

Stumpage Prices Increase for APC in Fiscal Year

1990

For example, on the long-term timber sale to Alaska Pulp Corporation (APC), stumpage prices jumped from \$1.47 to \$127.00 per thousand board feet on July 1, 1990. The low price was prescribed in 1986 at the beginning of the 5-year timber sale period. The adjustment, which reflected true market conditions, was agreed to by the company and the Forest Service in September 1989, but because of an injunction against the Forest Service, contract sale prices could not be increased until the favorable ruling by Judge Van der Heide in June 1990.⁹⁸

The 1991 Review of Timber Sales and Preparation in Region 10

In August 1991, the Washington Office conducted a review of timber sales preparation and administration work in the Alaska Region. Inspectors visited both the Tongass and the Chugach National Forests. Several issues were identified, including such things as diversifying sale administrators to obtain a better ethnic/gender distribution, fully meeting NEPA requirements, developing unit layouts, improving logging system technology, better sale administration, the scaling situation, and long-term sale authority. Individuals administering timber sales are expected to be certified to do their work; a process requiring two years. Some administrators working sales in the Alaska Region were not certified. Staffing for sale layout was also deemed insufficient. The Region was already aware of this deficiency and proposed contracting out timber sale layout services—a proposal welcomed by the inspectors. The visiting team believed that the Region 10 Manual and Handbook Supplements relating to timber sale preparation and administration also needed updating. Following the visit, the Region prepared an action plan to correct the deficiencies found in the review.⁹⁹

Recent Timber Harvests from the National Forests in Alaska

During fiscal years 1954 through 1990 the average harvest on the Tongass National Forest was 370.8 million board feet. The average harvest for 1980 through 1990 was 304.0 million board feet. By Fiscal Year 1991, this had dropped to 229.3 million board feet.¹⁰⁰ Fiscal Year 1992 timber harvest by size of sale for the three areas of the Tongass and the Chugach are shown below:

Table IX.5
Timber Sold, Fiscal Year 1992¹⁰¹

Area	Description	# of Sales	Volume(MMBF)	Value
Stikine	to \$300	1	.57	\$32.80
	\$301 to \$2,000	41	61.22	8,930.74
	\$2,001 to 2,000M	2	2,550.00	112,130.29
	\$5,001M to 15,000M	4	31,022.00	928,416.34
	<u>15,001M and over</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>30,690.00</u>	<u>64,307.50</u>
Total		13	68,969.79	1,137,816.88
Chatham	No sales			
Chugach NF				
	Non-convertible	1	.00	10.00
	to \$300	20	227.50	2,021.02
	\$301 to \$2,000	7	1,049.56	4,995.90
	<u>\$2,001 to 2,000M</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>959.50</u>	<u>11,576.00</u>
Total		31	2,236.56	18,602.92
Ketchikan				
	Non-convertible	1	.00	400.00
	to \$300	4	116.50	770.31
	\$301 to \$2,000	22	981.00	24,630.65
	\$2,001 to 2,000M	14	3,553.31	212,649.56
	<u>2,001M to 5,000M</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7,298.00</u>	<u>672,238.05</u>
Total		43	11,948.61	910,688.57

Short-term timber sales from the Tongass National Forest in FY 1993 indicated that 22.39 million board feet were offered for sale, 2.99 million board feet were sold, and that 18.14 million board feet were harvested, all on the Stikine Area. For long-term sales the sawtimber volumes were respectively, 243.72, 173.87 (re-leased) and 274.83 million board feet.¹⁰²

Ecosystem Management Embraced in Timber Sales

Timber sale planning is beginning to embrace the new concept of ecosystem management. For its timber sale work, the Chatham Area has established an ECO-TEAM comprising a silviculturist, wildlife biologist and ecologist. The eco-team identifies landscape patterns in planning areas, establishes priority within stands for silvicultural treatment, refines existing GIS layers for project level planning, identifies unique plant associations and ecosystems, and develops a timber resource unit pool from an ecosystem perspective.¹⁰³ Ecosystem management is in a sense encouraged by the Tongass Timber Reform Act (TTRA), and will have a growing impact on land management in the Alaska Region.

TTRA: An Early Perspective

Although it is too soon to determine with any validity the long-term consequences of TTRA on the Alaska Region, there are some clear indications that the Act, with ANCSA, ANILCA and other legislation and policy

changes are changing the nature of National Forest management in Alaska. TTRA has impacted directly on forest land management planning. It has altered the management of timber sales. It has affected conditions relating to the long-term timber contracts and contributed to the termination of one of those contracts. It, and related legislation and changing management policies, have contributed to a decline in road construction on the Alaska National Forests. Income to the State of Alaska from timber sales on the National Forests has varied widely in recent years, but, because of income from petroleum revenues and the expanding property tax base in Alaska, National Forest receipts have become a smaller portion of state government income. Twenty-five percent of the receipts from timber sales, grazing (Alaska has no grazing receipts), recreation, and mineral extraction stay with the State in which timber and other incomes on the National Forests are received. The funds are utilized for school and roads.

Although the evidence is distorted because of recent increases in timber prices, TTRA portends to reduce state income derived from National Forest lands. In Fiscal Year 1988, for instance, the Region paid Alaska \$410,157.64, based on 396 million board feet of timber harvested (of which 332 million were sawlogs), for approximately \$11.0 million. In 1989 the payment soared to \$5,920,425.01, of which \$4,989,178 was derived from timber sales. Nearly 445 million board feet of timber were harvested in FY 1989, plus long-term contract prices had been renegotiated, and lumber prices were high. Receipts were over \$6.5 million in 1990.¹⁰⁴ But declining harvests from National Forest lands will surely, in the future, reduce state income from those lands.

Correspondingly, the state also benefits from road construction related to timber harvests on the Tongass. During the thirty years, 1957-1986, the Forest Service estimated that approximately 2,300 miles of timber related roads were built on the Tongass National Forest. Approximately 75 percent of those were maintained for public use. Road construction under the *Tongass Land Management Plan Revision* (reflecting TTRA changes) would average from 139-228 miles per year during the first decade of the revised plan and approximately 137 to 235 miles during the second decade, but then drop significantly for the third through the fifth decade. Miles of road would be directly proportional to the amount of timber harvested.¹⁰⁵ As timber harvests decline, road construction diminishes.

An important consequence of TTRA has seemingly been the closure of the APC pulp mill in Sitka, and the

termination of the APC long-term contract. The long-term consequences of the closure on the economy are still being evaluated, but in the short term, hundreds of Alaskans have become unemployed, and an important source of income has been eliminated. The Alaska Pulp Company mill at Sitka ceased operations in the fall of 1993. In January 1994, Regional Forester Mike Barton notified APC that it was in breach of its long term contract and that it should "show cause" why the contract should not be terminated. In April, the Forest Service terminated the APC long-term contract.¹⁰⁶

Between 1989 and 1994 the Region again found itself wrestling with rapid change, most of that not of its own initiative. The Exxon Valdez oil spill, the Tongass Timber Reform Act and all of the implications of that legislation, as well as the closure of the Sitka Pulp Mill imposed new conditions and challenges. As the Region moved toward the close of the Twentieth Century the people of the Tongass and the Chugach, within and without the Forest Service, found themselves in the throes of change. The Region focused on efforts to manage that change effectively. As in the past few decades, timber management and fish habitat management consumed an important part of the Region's energy, but more and more attention was given subsistence, recreation, and wilderness. By 1995, Region 10 National Forest management no longer could be defined as "timber driven."

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⁷³ Dale Heigh, Director of Timber Management, "Timber Management Activities on Alaska's National Forests," Speech at Western States Legislative Forestry Task Force, Ketchikan, Alaska, July 18, 1980, pp. 1-5, Region 10 Files and Records.

⁷⁴ "Briefing Paper, Tongass Land Management Plan Revision," n. p., August 4, 1993, p. 43.

⁷⁵ "Briefing Paper, Tongass Land Management Plan Revision," n. p., August 4, 1993, 45 pp., see pp. 10-11.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁹ "Timber Sales Program Preparation and Administration Unit Costs per Thousand Board Feet Harvested, by Forest Service Region and Forest," pp. 347-349, p. 349 in U.S. 102nd Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies, Hearings, *Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1993*, Washington, D.C., April 1, 1992, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992, Part 12, 1050 + xviii pp.

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Chapter X

Forest Managers And Forestry: An Alaskan Profile

Beneath the legislation, the rhetoric, the environmental impact statements, plans, and reports, what is left on the National Forests are the people doing their job as forest managers. Who are these people, and what do they really do in the ordinary and everyday practice of forest management?

The following are comments and summaries are from interviews with a random selection of Region 10 employees and retirees located variously in Juneau, Ketchikan, Petersburg, Sitka, and Anchorage in 1993 and 1994. They talk about their work, their hopes, the problems in forest management, and their sense of what seems to be a shared bond that is both the Alaska forests, and the Alaska mystique.

For the most part Forest Service employees, and particularly those in Alaska, are outdoor enthusiasts. It is easy to attract good employees to the Region, Bruce Van Zee, Supervisor of the Chugach (1990-1994) commented. On the Chugach, for example, the education level is higher than average, because competition for the positions is keen. All of the rangers in 1993 had a master's degree, and five employees had earned doctorates. Van Zee characterized many of his employees as outdoor "extremists:" that is river rafters, climbers, kayakers, and canoeists. The modern Forest Service employee shares the enthusiasm for the outdoors with his or her predecessor—but in a different vein. Whereas the earlier forester had what Van Zee called "a hunt, trap and fish mentality," the contemporary forest manager is more nearly styled a recreationist. All generations have had a strong attraction to and a feeling for the forests and wildlife. "People really do have a feeling for the place."¹

The Alaska "mystique" is often mentioned by employees of the USDA Forest Service in Alaska (without solicitation or prompting). The mystique is as often undefined. Generally, whatever it is, it is that which brought them to Alaska, and that which keeps them there. It is that which even the most casual visitor seeks and sometimes finds. It is that elusive quality that makes life and work in Alaska a unique and distinctive experience. It is that constant that underlies the sea of change that has washed over Alaska and the Forest Service in Alaska in the past four decades.

Perhaps the second most common comment (or sometimes complaint) made by Forest Service employees who have or are living and working in Alaska is that "times have changed." Michael Condon, Stikine Area Planning Staff Officer, whose Forest Service career began in the lower forty-eight working on fire crews in

the summer near his home in the San Francisco area, came to Alaska for "the hunting and fishing," still an important element of the Alaska mystique. Since his arrival, the nature of the work changed, the culture of the Forest Service changed, and the perception held by Alaskans of foresters changed. Foresters, Condon thought, were more and more being considered as "transients" on the Alaska scene—and government workers as second class citizens.² It was not always so, and to be sure the stereotype often failed to fit. But things were changing. This then is the story of the forest managers and forestry in Alaska, how both have changed, and how, to a remarkable extent, the "Alaska mystique" has remained constant.

Bunny (Harold) Donnelly, Civil Engineering Technician with the Chatham Area of the Tongass National Forest is perhaps uniquely qualified to observe change. He was born in Sitka as was his father. He completed engineering studies at Washington State University and the University of Alaska, served with the military in Europe, worked in the lower-48 for several years, and then returned to Sitka and joined the Forest Service in the early 1970s. "Change was happening when I was hired," he said. He spent twenty years working out of Sitka. He never traveled much outside of the Chatham Area, and observed in the Forest Service over the years "how people come and go." In the 1970s, he said, people mostly came and went. Now, in the 1990s, people are staying.³

In the 1990s, "environmental concerns are up front. Earlier they were not." When he arrived on the Chatham, road location and layouts for timber cuts were being done by Alaska Pulp Company engineers. The engineering staff on the Chatham included six people. [By 1994, the Chatham Area boasted 30 personnel on its Engineering and Facilities Staff, with other engineers assigned to the various Ranger Districts.] As new people joined the staff, the Forest Service, rather than the contractors, took over road design and construction. In 1981 the Chatham established the Hoonah Ranger District which soon became the hub for most of the timber production on the Chatham Area. At that time the conversion from the Resource Management organization back to the Ranger District organization again changed the nature of the work. Rather than managing out of the Forest Area office, the Engineering staff began to work closely with and provide support for the District Rangers, who assumed more responsibility for timber cuts and related engineering projects.⁴

For twenty years, Donnelly said, his work was to build roads for timber sales, and now, with the closure of the

Alaska Pulp mill, his work has become road maintenance. While it operated, the APC (Alaska Pulp Company) and the Forest Service cooperated and their people worked very closely. As far as the community was concerned APC and the Forest Service provided the jobs. While others may have, Donnelly felt no sense of conflict with the public, and there were no environmental encounters. Now, in the Nineties, there is a sense of conflict, he reflected, and environmental concerns are often preeminent. The closure of the APC contract, Donnelly observed, is going to be very hard on the community, and in 1994, "we are only beginning to feel it."⁵

Donnelly felt very uncertain, both as an engineer, and as a native Sitka Alaskan, that environmental protection (which he felt had largely contributed to the closure of the pulp operations) when balanced against the loss of the pulp industry would provide a net gain to the community. In addition, he said, timber cuts on Native (ANCSA) lands were dwindling. With environmental issues, he said, "there is always a question of net gain. Clear-cutting cannot do that much harm. After all, the Russians had clear-cut the entire Sitka Area."⁶ And while he did not say so in so many words, Bunny Donnelly implied that changes on the Chatham would be more pronounced in the future than they had been in the past.

John Carey, Recreation Group Leader on the Ketchikan Area and an "outsider" who grew up in Michigan, recognized the differences between work in Alaska and in the lower forty-eight, more so than the changes occurring within Alaska. Forest management in Alaska, he said, is "much more challenging" as compared to other Regions in the National Forest System. Alaska is in the early stages of development. And National Forest management in Alaska is in a pioneering phase. Carey describes Alaska as overall "a classless society, ... an excellent place in which to grow and mature and learn." In Ketchikan where he is located the Forest Service, he observed, is very much a part of the community and is regarded as a partner in community development. But "we have a lot to learn," he reflects. "Our main problem is to learn what we can provide in terms of timber, recreation, tourism, and fisheries support, and to provide 'meaningful measures' of our resources." Forest management, he said, deals in trade-offs. The Forest Service must forge new partnerships, and it must live increasingly within a constraining budget.⁷

Ronald M. Dippold concurred with Carey that Alaska is a special case, and a special place. He arrived on the Tongass in 1965, the day the earthquake struck.

Despite that, he was one of those who came and stayed. Alaska he said "was good for the family and for kids." But forestry had been a tumultuous business over the years. In 1974 he transferred to the Timber Management Staff as a "resource manager" with responsibility for National Forest Inventory work. He later decided that the RMA management system "was the worst thing the Forest Service had ever done." There was no responsibility. Ranger District records were lost. The Region lost its sense of unity and comraderie. Specialists brought in during that period and after tended to have no concept of the organization or the operation of the Forest Service and what "really happens on the ground." For each specialist their agenda was their own specialty. Rewards came (particularly under the RMA period) for initiating projects, not for completing them, so that there was little incentive to close a project. The RMA system contributed to "a lot of independence, and little cooperation."⁸

According to Dippold the Forest Service lost contact with the local population. Although there are now public hearings and the Forest Service listens—no-one remembers because of the preoccupation with a special project or agenda, and because of the rapid changes in personnel. Each person is still inclined to push their own agenda. And forestry has become project oriented. People do not think in the long-term or see the big picture. They are focused and cannot really comprehend multiple-use. The agenda is today's agenda and the "bottom line." There are many outside of the Forest Service and outside of Alaska who tend to **create** problems and issues. Special interest groups have made an industry out of criticism, and surrogate issues conceal the real agenda. What, Dippold wonders, will be there one-hundred years from now?⁹ He would like to think that the Forest Service, and the critics, are broadening the vision.

But Dippold concluded that forestry is changing in the Region, and changing for the better. The return to the Ranger Districts and the use of the IDT (Interdisciplinary Team) structures helped alleviate the isolation of the specialist and facilitated real progress. Improved inventory work, including land type timber inventory, which occupied much of Dippold's time in the Region, provided better management control. But simply identifying resources alone was not enough. Inventory did not show the interactions between resources. As a result, during work on the Tongass Land Management Plan (TLMP) Dippold's task group developed the "80-acre point system" or TLMP Point System. It involved the application of a grid to the Tongass National Forest and the classification of each point by land, water,

vegetation and resource characteristics (including timber types, wildlife, and even Eagle nesting trees). It set a precedent for ecosystem management.¹⁰

A determination or knowledge of the interaction and interrelationship between resources has become an important part of the planning and forest management process in Alaska only in the past three or four decades. For example, whereas the selection of timber cuts was once a fairly simple process of selecting a unit from photographic files, inviting public discussion and review, prospective timber cutting sites have now been integrated into the planning process. In the past fifteen years timber harvests are the product of timber management plans, and site selection work which takes into consideration alternative uses such as recreation, subsistence, and esthetics. Only within the past several years, according to John Short, landscape architect on the Ketchikan Area, have such considerations as recreation, subsistence and esthetics become leading values in forest management. Formerly, they evolved around timber harvest considerations and were thus "timber driven" values. Short, who completed an advanced degree in landscape architecture at Cornell University, shopped around for employment, "found" Alaska, and came to stay.¹¹

Similarly, Marybeth Nelson, also trained in landscape architecture, came to the Chatham Area (Sitka) of Region 10 in 1983 as a recreational land planner. During the first few years office work—photos, paper, and maps—dominated her life. The long-term timber contracts drove forest management and recreational planning in the Chatham Area. But work on the TLMP (Tongass Land Management Plan) revision, and the Tongass Timber Reform Act (1990) began to change priorities and the nature of the work. During TLMP revision work, she said, "we began to investigate specific places on the forest people were using for recreation." We discovered there was much more recreation going on than expected, and that recreational uses dated to the 1920s and 1930s that were previously unrecorded. Recreational planning involves the inventory of fire rings, deer camps, recreational camping, and island camping destinations which are recorded in the GIS (Geographical Information System) in order that "we may make informed decisions." Recreational planning has become more site specific, more informed, and more integrated with overall forest management.¹²

For recreationists, Nelson says, as well as for Forest Service personnel, the "Alaska mystique" is: "I am having an experience I do not have to share with

others." A summary of her comments about the Alaska mystique is that it stresses an experience by the individual. Wilderness, and the wilderness concept complements and nourishes the Alaska mystique. Europeans, for example, come to Alaska for an experience they can not otherwise have. And tourists from cruise ships, it was discovered, often come back as individual campers and users, or may themselves become guides. People from all over the world come to Alaska to work as volunteers for the Forest Service, prominently, for example, in the wetlands near Cordova and in the Copper River Delta Area. It is only now being understood that the Forest Service is critical in the sustainment and development of the Alaska mystique. That mystique has much to do with recreation, and the Forest Service is becoming more responsive to recreational needs on the Alaska forests. And as an afterthought, Marybeth Nelson stressed the idea, not always popular with Alaskans, that the National Forests of Alaska belong to all of the people of the United States, and not exclusively to the people of Alaska.¹³

Abigail R. Kimbell, the Stikine Area Supervisor mentioned previously, concurs that because of Alaska's frontier and individualistic culture, it has been difficult to mesh the Alaskan and the federal land manager. But effective forest management, she stresses, requires community support. One of the major roles of the forester manager is to "articulate to the community what future forestry programs are going to be." And while the Alaska experience is different, Kimbell stresses that **every** Forest Service job is different—usually because the team of people involved is different.¹⁴

But Howard Ulrich, Captain of the Sitka Ranger, who joined the Alaska Forest Service in 1971, stresses the many differences and changes that have occurred in the Region since he joined the Forest Service. Whereas the work was once timber oriented, and task oriented, "a lot of the job now," he suggested, "is esthetics." The issue is often "how you feel about something, or what looks best," not necessarily what is best. Work procedures have changed. The laws have changed. The mission has changed. Where timber once dominated and other concerns were treated with "benign neglect," there is now a focus on recreation, wildlife and lands. Fish and game interests have displaced timber as the dominant concern. And the people have changed. There are more specialists. The new people are "steady types;" they are usually good friends with one another, and the Service, unlike in earlier years of Ulrich's Forest Service career, has become "almost a family."¹⁵

Indeed, the style of forest management has changed over the past four decades from that best characterized as the rugged individualist, independent ranger style to the cooperative “family” style. Ron Welsh, who transferred from the Olympic National Forest in Washington to Alaska in 1960 and remained on the Tongass until his retirement in 1984, remembers that the Ranger had a lot of independence. He characterized his early years as the “horseback management years,” or in Alaska what might be more appropriately called the “boat management” years. The transition from the independent forester era to the cooperative era was bumpy. The Resource Management Assistant experiment was one of the jolts along the way.¹⁶

Similarly, Richard C. Baker, a transplanted Georgian and contemporary of Ron Welsh, recalls that his most enjoyable work in Region 10 was in the earlier days, “when we had more independence.” A native of Douglass, Georgia, Baker was sent to Alaska’s Ladd Air Force Base in 1950, and when he completed his military obligation he returned to Georgia Tech, and transferred to the University of Georgia from which he graduated in 1956. After a few years with private industry in Florida and the Southeastern U.S., he decided he wanted to go back to Alaska. He came as a swing cruiser, locating timber sale sites on the Petersburg District, on Kuiu Island, and Saginaw Bay among other places. His most memorable years were those he spent as Acting Ranger at Yakutat. The work was independent and very exciting. “We thought the long-term sales were good and important, and we felt a great sense of accomplishment.”¹⁷

Both Welsh and Baker felt that the driving force during their years in Alaska were the long-term timber contracts. Both agreed that foresters were “mindful of the game,” and were doing multiple-use plans and environmental impact statements “before there were such things.” Both agreed that changes came, sometimes with painful impact.¹⁸ The changes were on two levels: those internal, and those external to the Forest Service. Multiple use and NEPA (National Environmental Policy Act) more so than other factors forced changes in the way forestry was conducted in Alaska. They required a team approach to forest management. The new cooperative approaches conflicted with older Forest Service traditions of independence. Concurrently, the processes for developing a timber sale extended from one year or less to often as long as five years, and costs rose proportionately. The Forest Service became more interactive with state authorities. State Fish and Game officials, for example, had to approve bridge sites for accessing timber cuts. Forest Service staffing

changes brought in landscape architects, recreationists, archeologists and numerous other specialists. Many of the newcomers came with the opinion that “logging is bad.” Some were inexperienced. Frustration levels began rising. There was conflict with the traditional culture of the Forest Service. The culture began to change. There was a time of “adjustment.”¹⁹

In the midst of this adjustment, change came with swift and seeming vengeance upon the Region, as foresters such as Baker and Welsh began to be hauled into court for doing the jobs they had previously felt such pride in completing—that is, producing timber. For example, “the Juneau litigation (halting timber cuts in the vicinity of the Capitol city) put a muzzle on the pride we had. It put a lid on our work. The Forest Service changed from what some considered insensitive, to sensitive, to literally being shell-shocked. A wet blanket fell over us.” Baker retired in 1982, and Welsh in 1984.²⁰

The stress and strains of change continued. Gary Morrison, Supervisor of the Chatham Area, grew up in the ranching, timber, and mining areas of western Montana. Arnold Bolle, a somewhat controversial Dean of Forestry at the University of Montana (where Morrison completed a Master’s degree in forestry) helped steer Morrison into a forestry career. Morrison recalled that when he arrived in Alaska in 1980 as a recreational management specialist in the Juneau office, the Region had little preparation and anticipation for the creation and management of wilderness areas as designated by ANILCA. Although wilderness areas had been proposed in the Tongass Land Management Plan (TLMP), “there was not a lot of support, and little understanding of how to manage wilderness.” His first job was to draw boundaries for the proposed wilderness areas, and he and Dick Wilson put together the first manual supplement for Alaska wilderness management. And there was, he recalls, some opposition to wilderness designation (particularly in the Yakutat area) by both foresters and Natives who feared (correctly as it proved) that wilderness designations would actually increase use of forested areas so designated.²¹

Morrison left Alaska for a time to serve as Deputy Forest Supervisor on the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia, and then transferred to Washington D.C. to hold the “Alaska desk” for Region 10. When he returned to Sitka in 1988 as Supervisor of the Chatham Area, the Region was in the middle of litigation over its five-year timber plan for supplying the Alaska Pulp Company long-term contract. Environmentalists challenged the contract and the plan at every turn, and while boundary adjustments in timber production areas

could have removed some of the difficulties, the Chatham Area found itself in conflict with the Regional Office which was strongly opposed to boundary changes. The stress, Morrison thought, was largely internal. But then the Tongass Timber Reform Act and new Environmental Impact Statements again changed the rules and situation, and led to new controversy with Alaska Pulp Company. But Morrison thought the real problem with APC had to do with the “dissolving pulp markets.”²² Change, from whatever direction it was coming, seemed to be the constant.

Indeed, Wayne R. Nicolls, Public Affairs Officer for the Alaska Region, argues that not only has the Forest Service personality changed, but that many of the people entering the Forest Service come in with the idea of changing it even more. Nicolls began his Forest Service career in Wisconsin in 1957. When he became a District Ranger he became keenly aware of the role of public relations and public communications in forest management and decided that his direction within the Forest Service should be in public affairs. In 1983 he became the Public Affairs Officer for Region 3 in the Southwest, and in 1987 transferred from the Southwest to Alaska. Alaska, since he had read his first book about it in the 1940s, always intrigued him. In 1976, he made his first official visit to Alaska to learn about d-2 lands (the 80 million acres set aside for classification under ANILCA). His role was to help the Secretary of Agriculture sell the idea of new National Forests for Alaska. At the time, he said, the public impression of Region 10 came largely from what people saw or perceived on the Tongass National Forest—which was large scale timber harvest. The Chugach was very low key in the public mind. But timber harvest, he added, is not timber management. Timber harvest in Alaska relates only to the cut of old-growth timber, while timber management relates to second growth and beyond.²³

In the early days, the Public Affairs Officer’s mission was to tell people “what we do, and how they can use National Forest resources.” Now, he says, issues are more sensitive. The clientele of the National Forests are no longer essentially rural types, but rather urban. And the Alaska National Forest public is not truly Alaskan, but a “down south urban population.” People see the world through the eyes of an urban observer. And that has impacted heavily on National Forest management. While the public has the right to be involved in the management process, the role of the Public Affairs Officer has increasingly come to be that of a technical advisor in the public involvement process.²⁴

The general public, in Nicholl’s view, has accepted the environmentalists assumption that “cutting timber

destroys the land.” And the seats of government and the Forest Service have concurrently become more preservationist oriented. There is, particularly on the Tongass, an extreme polarization of the public—reflecting largely the urban vs. traditional rural orientation. The issues most critical for the Forest Service in Alaska have to do with timber harvests, the long-term timber contracts and the related fact that the available timber base has shrunk from approximately 6 million acres to less than 2 million acres. The Region is also facing the challenges of meeting growing recreational demands—and understanding the different needs of recreation and tourism.²⁵

One of Nicholls’ counterparts, Douglas Stockdale, Public Affairs Officer for the Chatham Area, like Nicholls transferred from the hot, arid southwest to Alaska. Stockdale worked in public affairs with the Bureau of Land Management in Yuma, Arizona before transferring to the Sitka PAO desk with the Forest Service. If it was the Alaska “mystique” which drew him, it had a very personal touch, for Stockdale’s father in earlier years worked in Valdez, Alaska, where Douglas spent most of his first five years of childhood. Stockdale felt that times had changed even in the few years (since 1989) since he arrived in Alaska. Ecosystem management was coming on line. The perspective of the Forest Service was changing. The Forest Service, which has much more public visibility than the Bureau of Land Management, “has to become all things to all people. We have to become more globally aware. And indeed, communications and travel have changed our world.” While the Alaska forest is vast and very resilient, the issues are shifting away from old growth timber and clear cutting, to considerations of subsistence, the total environment, and recreation.²⁶

The latter has become particularly the mission of such people as Susan Rutherford, Recreation and Heritage Staff Officer on the Chugach National Forest. Alaska, she says, is different—because of the size of the units, the scale of the landscape, and its mystique or “mantra.” The Alaska National Forests invoke a different feeling. After beginning her Forest Service career in forest hydrology in 1980, Rutherford spent her early years in northeastern forests before moving to the Washington Office for work on Project 615 (a new generation computer information system), and then to the Recreation Staff as Trails Program Leader. When she heard about an opening on the Chugach, she came. She wanted to work in Alaska, and the Chugach had become a “recreation” forest. For Susan Rutherford the mystique of Alaska includes the “kayaking, the camping, the rain, wind, and high tides.”²⁷

Alice Brook, Administrative Officer on the Chugach, echoes the same depth of feelings about the Alaska forests held by Susan Rutherford. Brook began her Forest Service career in 1977 on the Prescott National Forest in Region 3—a hot arid land far removed from the Alaska landscape. She then went to Region 1 working in northern Idaho, and from there to San Francisco where she specialized in “fire” finance. During the Exxon Valdez oil spill the Forest Service assigned her as the Operations Finance Chief to oversee the operation of cleanup crews and to monitor cultural resource sites on National Forest lands. Whereas she was convinced when she began work on the Valdez oil spill that Exxon Corporation was the bad guy, she became impressed with Exxon’s energy and dedication in the clean-up effort. And after that, when the Alaska Region had an administrative position open, she elected to stay on. For her Alaska was different! It was “Oh my, a sensory overload.” She would never forget the day when a moose and its calf crossed in front of her. The people who came to the Forest Service in Alaska she described as “adventurous, independent, self-reliant, and ‘earthy’” types. One of the great future missions of the Forest Service she feels, is to provide more public services and more visitor centers so that more people could see “this wonderful world.”²⁸ It was clear that Alice Brook had drunk deeply of the Alaskan mystique.

So too did Chuck (Charles) Frey. A privately employed geologist in the 1970s, Frey joined the Forest Service as a forest geologist. He served on the Lewis and Clark National Forest as a Soil, Air, Water and Minerals Staff Officer until 1989. In 1983 he went to Alaska on a special detail assignment, and wanted to go back. Finally, in December 1991 he arrived on the Chugach as Planning Staff Officer. The Chugach Forest Plan, he said, was the fifth or sixth National Forest plan produced (the Tongass had been first) and it was a very good plan, but largely ignored. And it had been subject to seventeen appeals almost from the moment of its inception. The appeals resulted in a settlement agreement that required “Management Area Analyses,” which created yet another intermediate level of forest management planning. But Chugach Forest planning and implementation were brought to a halt by the Valdez oil spill in 1988, and even now (in 1994) he thought the plan had never been fully implemented even though revision of the Chugach Forest Plan began in October 1994. But Frey felt very confident about work on the Plan revisions.²⁹

The problems of the Chugach were behind, not ahead. The Chugach is, he said, a recreation, fish, wildlife, and

visitor-oriented forest. Geologically, it is an active forest, and was greatly modified by the earthquake of 1964. Prince William Sound is one of the most spectacular and extraordinary geologic areas in the country, and the Copper River Delta is one of the most environmentally sensitive regions in the National Forests.³⁰ Thus, like many others, Frey concluded that Alaska was not only different, but very special. Like many other R10 employees, he sensed that the future looked promising and productive.

Ronald Mead Knowles, Administrative Officer on the Chatham, offered perhaps a unique view of the distinctive qualities of work in Alaska in commenting that, “In Alaska the trees are smaller, the distances are longer, and the economics are tougher.” Even in the ten years since he arrived in Region 10, things had changed. “This is not the Forest Service that I joined. The old independence is lost. This is a new age. Everything is subject to review. But with ecosystem management, the Forest Service is returning to its old generalist position.” And one of the special qualities of the Alaska Region, he thought, is that because it is a “small” region in terms of personnel, “we have great flexibility and can change our directions instantly.”³¹

Lowell Suring, a wildlife biologist, had work experiences ranging from Wisconsin, to Oregon to New York to New Mexico before arriving in Ketchikan in 1984. Compared to his earlier experiences, work in Ketchikan “was exhilarating.” There forest management truly reflected wildlife protection. Planning documents were rarely contested. He moved from Ketchikan to Juneau in 1986 and became the Regional Coordinator for Habitat Relationships. In this position he helped bring cooperators into wildlife management programs and built an aura of confidence and cooperation with numerous state and private entities before moving to the Chugach. And on the Chugach, he said, “we have a wildlife program for wildlife.”³²

For Mike Weber, a wildlife biologist trained at the University of Missouri, and South Dakota State University, the rich and distinctive wildlife resources are what give Alaska its special mystique. And he stressed too “the scale of things in Alaska.” Professional and personal logistics are difficult. On Region 8, where he worked, timber work was small scale and often remote from the work place. In the Chatham Area, where he worked as Planning Team Leader, the staff were very close to their resources, which he described as “outstanding.” Among the resources, Weber mentioned with enthusiasm the Marbled Murrelet, the Queen Charlotte Goshawk, the Northern Goshawk, the Kodiak and Black

Bear, Moose, Deer, Sea Otters, wolves, the Sea Lion, and various species of whale.³³

Jere Christner, a Fish, Wildlife, Watershed and Ecology Staff Officer on the Chatham Area with Weber, echoed many of the sentiments expressed by Weber, if in different words. Christner grew up in a forestry family. He completed a degree in forestry at Colorado State University and a Master of Science in Hydrology. He worked in Colorado, Nevada, Oregon and Washington before coming to Alaska in 1985. He came because he "wanted something new and different."³⁴ He found it.

Working with the Forest Service in Alaska was like working for a "different company." The organization is different. "We have a weird organization." He was surprised at the amount of travel required, and the funding he thought was better than that available in the western regions of the Forest Service. There was more flexibility in Alaska and often a greater ability to get things done using the latest in technology. "The work is state-of-the-art. We have the people and the resources. Our data analysis is good. And we are blessed with having some breathing time to do the work." But land management planning and long-term timber contract planning in Alaska are much more difficult than comparable work in the lower 48. Perhaps because everybody thinks Alaska belongs to them. Yet one of the contradictions of the Alaska mystique is, "it is easy to be isolated."³⁵

Jim Rhodes, Transportation Planner for the Ketchikan Area, arrived on the Alaska scene in the early years of the Resource Management era. He completed undergraduate studies at St. Martins College in Olympia, Washington in 1967, went to work for the Corps of Engineers, and then for a time with King County, Washington, before applying for a job with the Forest Service. After a few years in Region 6 he transferred to Alaska. Rhodes' "mystique" had deep roots. He first came to Alaska with his family at the age of two, and finished high school in Wrangell, Alaska.³⁶ For him Alaska was simply home.

Because of the Ketchikan Pulp Corporation's long-term timber contract, the Ketchikan Area, Rhodes observed, is still timber oriented. His work since about 1974 as variously a pre-construction engineer, field location engineer, project engineer and transportation planning officer has largely related to logging and logging roads. One product of the years of timber planning has been to build the basic road transportation system existing in the Southeast, and particularly to turn Prince of Wales into an interconnected community. The most critical

forest management problems have related to the "changing forests." Since 1970 the size of the forests are changing, boundaries are moving constantly, and uses are changing. The Forest Service has been challenged in trying to meet its timber obligations under the long-term contracts with less and less resources to produce the required volumes.³⁷

As the Forest Service has struggled with this emerging reality, and the realization of its limitations, planning and public information have taken on new significance. Paul McIntosh, for example, Public Affairs specialist in Ketchikan, stresses the message contained in the Regional information guide to the Tongass National Forest entitled *Understanding the Past... ..Designing the Future*.³⁸

Understanding the Past...

Alaska has always been known as a wild and magnificent place, a vast expanse of seemingly limitless scenery and rich natural resources. People who have never even seen Alaska think of it as the Last Frontier. Demand for the enjoyment of Alaska's scenery and the use of its resources has grown considerably over the years. In Southeast Alaska, much of that demand has focused on The Tongass National Forest.

Designing the Future...

Making decisions about how to manage the Tongass National Forest, so that present and future generations will benefit from its richness is quite challenging.³⁹

This review of National Forest management on the Tongass examines what are referred to as "Benchmarks:" "Benchmarks show how much of each resource the Tongass can produce and what effects this production has on other resources." Thus the current Tongass Land Management Plan (TLMP) anticipates that under existing management practices the Tongass would produce 450 MMBF/year of timber for the first ten years, with a long-term sustained yield of about 1,020 MMBF. This assumes 15.7 million acres of roadless area, including wilderness; a capability for producing 130 million pounds per year of harvestable fish; a recreation capacity of 4,200 MRVD (i.e. recreation visitor days per one thousand people in the National Forest for a 12-hour period)—all providing a total \$2.7 billion net value excluding mineral production.⁴⁰

That benchmark changes however, when all roadless areas are allocated to wilderness, where logging may

not occur. Under those conditions the allowable sale quantity on the Tongass would be 150 MMBF per year with a long-term sustained yield of 360 MMBF. Fisheries production and recreation capacities would remain about the same, and net value would decline to about \$2.4 billion. In 1988, about 45 percent of non-government employees in Southeast Alaska processed timber or fish, or worked in areas related to tourism and recreation. Most wage earners (5,700) were in timber or wood industries; some 4,700 were in fisheries; and another 4,500 depended on tourism and recreation. The commitment to a maximum wilderness benchmark would sustain all but the timber and wood industries which would lose some 2,500 employees costing \$110 million in payrolls.⁴¹ Benchmarks, and forest planning, help provide intelligent projections for alternative forest resource use. Alternatives are then presented for public review in environmental impact statements (EIS), and following the review, a decision initiates or confirms a management program.

Eco-system management, although the word relates to *ecology*—has very strong *economic* content. Larry Howard Meshew, a forest hydrologist on the Ketchikan Area who hails from Dayton, Ohio, explains ecosystem management as involving an integrated approach to land planning that includes technical, social and economic elements. It deals with management on a larger geographic scale. Ecosystem management incorporates multiple-use management which focuses more on the land base, while the ecosystem is broader and more comprehensive, and involves tying inventories together. Moreover, Meshew adds, ecosystem management is forcing changes, including organizational changes that require more teamwork and participatory management.⁴²

David William Arrasmith, Planning Officer for the Ketchikan Area, stresses the team approach to forest planning and management. He joined the Forest Service in 1980, serving on the Eldorado National Forest at Davis, California for eight years before transferring to Juneau to work on the TLMP revision team. Team members included Don Lyon, Steve Kessler, Bill Wilson, Judy Coose, and Connie Meyers among others. He was sent to Portland, Oregon in a “sunset position” to participate in a Spotted Owl environmental impact statement, and while there he and his family realized they missed Alaska. They did not like the big city, and being unable to recognize people they passed on the street. And the missed Alaska’s hunting and fishing. The Alaska mystique drew them back.⁴³

As Planning Officer, Arrasmith oversees a planning

team which meets every Monday for 1-2 hours. Planning groups, sub-groups of the team usually meet on Monday. Forest Service personnel are members of inter-agency planning groups, often including the state Department of Governmental Coordination, the Department of Fish and Game, Department of Environmental Conservation, and Department of Natural Resources. Federal agencies with whom the Forest Service most frequently interact are the Fish & Wildlife Service, Environmental Protection Agency, Corps of Engineers, Bureau of Land Management, and very infrequently the Bureau of Mines. State and Federal Agency/Forest Service relations are collaborative rather than competitive. The Alaska Coastal Management Program provides a broader forum to which problems can be elevated when Forest Service or inter-agency planning groups disagree. Generally, relations with other agencies and with the state have been cooperative, although they tend to be more volatile with state agencies. Overall Arrasmith believes, “extremism has diminished, and people are coming out of their fox holes.”⁴⁴ He has a very positive view of the future.

Although she is a relatively recent arrival on the Alaska scene, Patricia Grantham shares the optimism and enthusiasm. “You’ll never get the Alaska experience anywhere else but Alaska,” she commented, having served four years on the Clearwater National Forest in Region 1, a short tour on the Gallatin, and four years on the Mt. Baker-Snoqualamie National Forests. Alaskans, she decided, are not really conservative or liberal—they are libertarian. The Forest Service provides a matrix for Alaska in terms of its people and its resources.⁴⁵

As Ranger on the Petersburg Ranger District, Grantham is particularly sensitive to the changes in the use of forest resources by the local people. Although the Petersburg Area is between the two long-term timber contract areas and has some production related to those contracts, most of the logging has been on independent contracts for delivery to the Petersburg and Wrangell mills. She does not expect the closure of the APC mill in Sitka to significantly affect timber production in the Petersburg Area, although she does anticipate the volume of timber sales declining. This will have some impact on Forest Service staffing; it will mean less road construction, and some decline in timber receipts.⁴⁶

Petersburg has been a divided community with adherents variously of fishing, fishing and logging, and fishing and tourism. Although fishing has dominated, fishing is meeting great competition from “farmed fish.” Landings

in the past few years have been at record highs, but receipts have declined. With timber also declining, "Petersburg is going through some agony in reappraising its role." The town is becoming very interested in recreation and tourism. The latter is somewhat limited because of the lack of a deep water port, but a "lightering system" could make Petersburg accessible to the large cruise ship passengers. The Petersburg Ranger District has 19 cabins, good opportunities for a "roaded recreation experience," and a growing list of guides and outfitters.⁴⁷ But the economic mix is changing and the Forest Service is integral to that change.

Jim Franzel, Ranger on the Sitka Ranger District in the Chatham Area, began his Region 10 career in 1976 in Petersburg, where he became staff officer under Ned Pence on the Petersburg Ranger District. Franzel grew up in the Seattle area and "always wanted to come to Alaska." A fish biologist and an avid trout fisherman, he worked for some time on pink and chum salmon research at the University of Washington, and in 1976, came to work for the Forest Service in Alaska. He worked in Petersburg and in Wrangell during the RMA organization (which he described as chaotic), doing stream inventories, and fisheries enhancement work. He helped design and build fish enhancement projects on Irish Creek, Dean Creek, Slippery Creek and Mitchell Creek among other places.⁴⁸

When the Region returned to the Ranger District organization, Ned Pence became District Ranger in Petersburg, and Franzel became a staff officer under Pence. The District, and Pence, he said, helped provide focus. He particularly remembers Pence having each staff member "take a piece of legislation to research, distill, and present for the employees. There really is a sense of history to all this that helps give one perspective." Pence, Franzel added, was very good at conflict resolution and leadership.⁴⁹

Franzel sees his work on the Sitka Ranger District as essentially "managing people, awarding people, motivating people." When the Region returned to the Ranger District, the Sitka District was co-located with the Supervisor's Office. There was a tremendous transition of District Rangers. There were six to eight in Sitka within a few years, and as a result the Ranger Districts had no continuity or integrity. Even today, Franzel thinks, the Alaska Ranger Districts are not what they are in the lower 48. The Ranger is less the decision-maker, and more the implementor of policies, particularly timber-related policies, devised in the Supervisor's Office. In the area of recreation, however, the Ranger has been given more independence and

authority. The Sitka District, for example, has recently added nine new recreation cabins, several bird viewing platforms, and miles of trails, with good support from both the Supervisor's Office and the Regional Office.⁵⁰

The traditional authoritarian style of the Forest Supervisor has given way to the professional planning types. There have been costs associated with these changes. There are many more employees, but there is less hands-on, woods experience. There are more legal problems now. Timber sale planning has become confused. Much of his time, Franzel laments, is consumed in litigation, argument, and debate. The Forest Service has been forced to accommodate many divergent interests and issues. Many of the issues never become resolved. One tries to "make it work, but it collapses in politics and legislation." Most people do want to make a contribution and to make it work, and it is frustrating when nothing happens.⁵¹

Franzel is one of those people who make things happen, confirms Karen Iwamoto, Archeologist for the Chatham Area. He has stressed recreation, and sponsored more fisheries projects. Karen began work in Alaska as a seasonal employee in 1983. Until recently, she said, archeology has been "timber driven," that is the budget derives from timber income, and projects have related to surveying cutting sites for cultural resources. The work is now becoming recreation, and "other driven." Historic preservation is becoming more prominent, but in Sitka the question is "which history to preserve." The Russian? The Native? Although Sitka is having an identity crisis the community is definitely becoming pro-development. More projects are being completed in cooperation with Native tribes, and under cost-sharing arrangements. As for the mystique of Alaska, Karen Iwamoto has imbibed of it fully. When she came to Alaska, she said, she was "big-eyed." For the first year she was absorbed with the scenery. "It is an emotional thing." Being on the water, or in the mountains are memorable experiences. And finally, as part of the mystique, she met her husband in Sitka. Generally things have changed for the better. "The green (Forest Service) uniform carries a lot of negative baggage," she observed, "but this is improving."⁵²

Certainly, David Rittenhouse, Supervisor of the Ketchikan Area, is optimistic about what the future will bring. The closing of the long-term pulp operations by APC will contribute to a different structuring of the timber industry throughout Southeast Alaska. Many will fight "tooth and nail" to preserve the status quo (i.e. the long-term timber contract held by Ketchikan Pulp Company); others feel strongly that the long-term

timber contracts are too demanding. But Rittenhouse advises the Forest Service and its public to look beyond 2004 (when the KPC contract expires). Timber has, and will increasingly appear to have many dimensions. There are the pulp mills, the large producers and the small producers. The Alaska Forest Association represents many facets of the industry, as does the Alaska Lumberman's Association. Tourism and recreation reflect many different constituencies. There are many different fisheries: the seiners, gill net, long line, and sports fishermen, for example. Mining is not one single entity. Within the industry, timber, mining and fishing have many disparate interests. The world is much more fractional, difficult, and complex. This realization, Rittenhouse believes, is creating new opportunities for the Forest Service, which is in the center of the changing milieu that is Alaska.⁵³

Change is happening on the Stikine Area, and in Petersburg. Dick Estelle, Recreation and Lands Staff Officer, believes that Petersburg (much like Ketchikan) is "split on tourism." Most don't want the big tourist ships, but another segment says yes." The preference is toward "destination tourism," and small enterprise, employing the services of outfitters and guides. The sawmill, once a prominent part of Petersburg's economy is gone. Fishing is the big money-maker. Petersburg has three canneries, a large fishing fleet, and ranks among the nations top ten communities in landings of seafood. Fishermen, and to some extent tourist advocates, regard the Forest Service as both a help and a hindrance.⁵⁴

Nearby Wrangell is much more oriented to wood than it is to fishing or tourism, despite the fact that Wrangell is accessible to larger cruise ships. But that too, may be changing, with the temporary closing of the Wrangell sawmill beginning in November 1994. The situation is, Estelle projects, that timber harvest is and will be declining. Road construction will be declining. Paradoxically, the construction of fish ladders by the Forest Service will decline, not because the Forest Service is less supportive of the fisheries industries, but because the ladders facilitate easy access to spawning grounds, and may in the long-term, biologists think, change the genetic make-up of fish and weaken the species. Recreation will grow, and it will revolve around scenery, fishing, hunting, and subsistence. The role of the Forest Service will be to help facilitate growth in these new directions, and to build partnership operations with private interests, and share public facilities. This will mean for the Forest Service, and for the community, a "basic shift in thought processes."⁵⁵

For the Forest Service, if not for the community, that shift is already underway. The Tongass Land Management Planning team, an interdisciplinary (IDT) team headed by Steve Brink, characterizes prominent new dimensions of forest management as including research and a "continuing planning effort." The TLMP team, in 1994, included John Day, an economist/analyst; Duane Fisher, wildlife biologist; Gary Fisher, GIS (geographic information system) programmer analyst; Don Golnick, timber specialist; Rick Griffen, GIS Programmer Analyst; Steve Kessler, assistant team leader; and Bruce Rene, document coordinator. Steve Kessler, a fisheries biologist from Arizona, remembers that he arrived at Sitka about the time the Region reorganized to the Ranger District system. He was sent to the Yakutat, a sub-office of the Juneau Ranger District which boasted a staff of three, including an assistant District Ranger, a clerk, and himself. The Yakutat territory included about 4.5 million acres (and later became a separate Ranger District). He was assigned to the TLMP planning team (then headed by Don Lyon) in 1987.⁵⁶

Bruce Rene, who spent most of his Forest Service career since 1978 in California as a writer-editor on land management planning teams, came to Alaska in 1989 for work on the TLMP team. For a forest manager, he has a unique academic background: master's degrees in English and in Business. The team reports to Gary Morrison, Supervisor of the Chatham Area, the lead Forest Supervisor for the TLMP revision. Although work on the TLMP revision began in 1986, it has encountered many delays and detours. The Valdez oil spill caused one delay. One of the early accomplishments, however, was the development of the GIS (Geographic Information System), which provides the data base for the work and analyses. In addition to GIS, one of the initial efforts was to do an "Analysis of the Planning Process," to determine if, in fact, the procedures for devising forest plans and revisions were effective. A next step involved a very comprehensive effort on a draft of a Tongass EIS (Environmental Impact Statement). The EIS was to have been completed in 1991, but the Tongass Timber Reform Act changed the rules and the resource use base. Those changes required extended public comment through January 1991, and delayed the TLMP planning process. As a result, the Region elected to produce an EIS supplement, rather than a final draft.⁵⁷ The supplement is summarized in the attractive and rather well-received information brochure entitled *Understanding the Past... Designing the Future*.

Other external events interceded to again delay produc-

tion of a final Draft Environmental Impact Statement. One of those had to do with the changes in administration occasioned by the election of President Bill Clinton and Vice-President Albert Gore, who had a distinct environmental, natural resources agenda. Secondly, revisions in wildlife management criteria (occasioned in part by the spotted owl controversy in Oregon) required new evaluations based on "viable levels" of wildlife sustainment. Subsistence issues have also changed analyses of forest resource use. Subsistence has been clouded by the rural vs. Native connotation. Natives regard subsistence as a land-use designation, that is the subsistence user has first rights in the use of forest resources. The Forest Service gives subsistence a priority that becomes active only when a resource harvest is threatened. In other words, multiple-use exists (and includes subsistence users) only until resources are limited or threatened at which time subsistence obtains a priority.

What the planning team seeks to establish are the rules by which the system operates. And it is developing a comprehensive monitoring plan to see that the rules are followed and if they work. The planning team also seeks to provide as much information and analysis as is possible, and in all of the above senses, planning has become an ongoing, and continuing effort. But planning also, Bruce Rene and Steve Kessler agree, requires a closure at some point. A final document, that is the TLMP Revision is needed—otherwise "things become more cloudy."⁵⁸

It is anticipated that the revised plan will come in the not too distant future. [In March 1995 Regional Forester Phil Janik scheduled the TLMP Revision FEIS for not later than June 30, 1996.] But it is also anticipated that planning has become a constant in forest management, which was not true in the years before multiple-use, the National Forest Management Act, and the National Environmental Protection Act. That legislation, in addition to the numerous other changes in the Alaska scene, has occasioned the marked changes in Alaska forest management processes that have occurred for the most part since 1970.

It is imperative, Mike Novy, Fish and Wildlife/Timber and Ecology Staff Officer on the Chugach concludes, that agencies must change to reflect the changing values of society. The Forest Service has much to offer in resource leadership. Novy is enthusiastic about the new Forest Service Chief Jack Ward Thomas who has pledged to restore the Forest Service to its traditional role and sense of leadership in resource management.⁵⁹

The internal character of the Forest Service is changing everywhere, perhaps more so in Alaska than elsewhere. "If the courts or Congress haven't changed us (the Forest Service)," commented Dale Kanen, Assistant Program Manager for Fish, Wildlife, Watershed, and Ecology on the Chatham Area (and an Alaskan by birth and by preference), "we will have changed ourselves."⁶⁰ And yet, because of the Alaskan mystique, because of the unique human and physical environment that is Alaska, whatever the changes occurring within the Forest Service in Region 10, it will retain a separate and distinctive culture and personality among the Regions of the USDA Forest Service.

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- ³ Interview, Dethloff with Bunny (Harold) Donnelly, Sitka, AK, June 23, 1994.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ *Ibid.*; But, the Russians clear-cut a relatively small area in and around Sitka.
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- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ Interview, Dethloff with Ronald M. Dippold, Juneau, AK, June 8, 1994.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ Interview, Dethloff with John Short, Ketchikan, AK, May 23, 1994.
- ¹² Interview, Dethloff with Marybeth Nelson, Sitka, AK, June 22, 1994.
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- ¹⁴ Interview, Dethloff with Abigail R. Kimbell, Petersburg, AK, May 27, 1994.
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- ¹⁶ Interview, Dethloff with Ron Welsh, Sitka, AK, June 23, 1994.
- ¹⁷ Interview, Dethloff with Richard C. Baker, Sitka, AK, June 23, 1994.
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- ²⁸ Interview, Dethloff with Alice Brook, Anchorage, AK, June 13, 1994.
- ²⁹ Interview, Dethloff with Charles Frey, Anchorage, AK, June 14, 1994.
- ³⁰ Interview, Dethloff with Charles Frey, Anchorage, AK, June 14, 1994.
- ³¹ Interview, Dethloff with Ronald Mead Knowles, Sitka, AK, June 27, 1994.
- ³² Interview, Dethloff with Lowell Suring, Anchorage, AK, June 15, 1994.
- ³³ Interview, Dethloff with Mike Weber, Sitka, AK, June 28, 1994.
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- ⁴⁰ Tongass, *Understanding the Past*..., p. 52.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-59.
- ⁴² Interview, Dethloff with Larry Howard Mashew, Ketchikan, AK, May 24, 1994.
- ⁴³ Interview, Dethloff with David William Arrasmith, Ketchikan, AK, May 24, 1994.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
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- ⁴⁸ Interview, Dethloff with Jim Franzel, Sitka, AK, June 28, 1994.
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- ⁵² Interview, Dethloff with Karen Iwamoto, Sitka, AK, June 22, 1994.
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Chapter XI

A New Frontier In Forest Management

Since 1970 the Alaska Region of the USDA Forest Service, a region intrinsic to America's "last frontier," has blazed a new frontier in forest management. It is a frontier created in part by the unique geographic features of the forests, but more so, by the legislation emanating from the "age of environmental awareness," and the distinctive Congressional legislation applicable only to Alaska: ANCSA, ANILCA, and the Tongass Timber Reform Act. Alaska statehood, the long-term timber contracts, petroleum discoveries, and the discovery of Alaska by visitors are important elements affecting contemporary forest management. The way the National Forests are managed has also been transformed by a growing understanding of land stewardship, and by the appliances of modern technology. Just as the automobile and radio altered the work of the forester in the 1920s, so the computer in the office, the helicopter in the air, and the infrared satellite camera in space have changed forestry since World War II. Change has been the dominant feature of Alaska Forest management since 1970.

Soon after President Bill Clinton assumed office in January 1993, his newly appointed Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Natural Resources and Environment, Jim Lyons, testified before the House of Representatives. He prescribed three goals for the Forest Service: 1) to "... restore [its] credibility...in the eyes of the public ..."; 2) to "reinforce the professional role of resource managers who make up the Forest Service ..."; and 3) "to move forward with an ecosystem management approach"¹ Secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy later referred to the Forest Service as an example of "what's wrong" in government. The administration promised to reinvent government and effect changes within the Forest Service.

Managing the National Forests has become interwoven with the management of change. "Change is inevitable," David Rittenhouse advised the Ketchikan community in March 1994 in addresses and letters relating to the Ketchikan 2004 long range economic planning. "We can work together to influence that change or let others influence it for us."² On that same theme, Rittenhouse earlier suggested to the Ketchikan 2004 Timber Forum that fighting change and challenges to preserve the status quo would be counter-productive. That forum and the year "2004" anticipated the expiration of the long-term contract with Ketchikan Pulp Company. How would the community, industry, and the Forest Service meet the challenges arising from the expiration of the long-term contract? How will the Tongass and the Region meet the challenges and problems arising from the termination in 1993 of the

APC contract which was to have expired only in 2011? Managing change, Rittenhouse suggested, has to do with planning and creativity, dealing with alternatives and the "what ifs" in life:

- What if cedar prices keep going up and pulp prices go down?
- What if we could significantly increase value added processes?
- What if we could build a solid coalition between different groups?
- What if currently established pulp/sawmill facilities were operated at reduced capacities?
- What if the Native Corporations desire more National Forest timber sales?
- What if the small independent operators become a more vocal force?
- What if the economic assumptions used in TLMP don't materialize?
- What if the timber industry could secure timber from Russia?
- What if we considered a different approach to sustained yield?
- What if all the remaining commercial forest land on the Tongass were privatized?³

And there were more "what if's," each laden with implications of change.

In a different context, in January 1994, Sealaska's Robert Loescher posed a few "what if's" to the Southeast Conference in Sitka:

We must direct the forest service to modernize its approach to Tongass management so that we can maximize our economic opportunities without causing undue damage to the unique ecosystem in which we live. Industry must be allowed to evolve more naturally. We must reevaluate whether the long term timber contracts are the most effective way to achieve regional economic development.⁴

Implicit in these comments is the idea that the Forest Service and Alaskans were, if not committed to change, learning to live with change.

Phil Janik, who replaced Mike Barton as Regional Forester on May 4, 1994, explained to the Grand Camp of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Alaska Native Sisterhood in October: "We in the Forest Service are experiencing many changes, some external and some internal." The internal changes included building a work force "that better reflects the diverse publics we serve." He discussed the greater public surveillance of federal

land management agencies, pressures to assure sustained levels of forest resources over time, and the importance of measuring human values, needs and wants in the management of the land. In order to better achieve its mission, the Forest Service, Janik explained, has embraced ecosystem management—a system he acknowledged that is fundamental to the Alaska Native culture. Janik added that for this reason and others, “the relationship between the Forest Service and Alaska Natives is and ought to be a very special one.”⁵ ANCSA, ANILCA, and TTRA have indeed created a special relationship between the Alaska Native and the Forest Service. Those actions have changed forest management in Alaska, and they have more so changed the welfare and life of Alaska Natives.

Janik’s appointment as Regional Forester reflected the changing focus of forest management in Alaska. He obtained a degree in forestry from the University of Montana, served seven years as an officer in the U.S. Navy during the Vietnam conflict, and returned to Oregon to obtain a master’s degree in Wildlife Sciences. He joined the Forest Service in 1974, served as fisheries biologist with the anadromous fish program on the Siuslaw National Forest in Oregon, and then served on the Wildlife Staff of the Intermountain Region in Utah. John A. Sandor selected Janik to serve as Director of Wildlife, Fisheries and Subsistence for the Alaska Region in June 1983. Janik moved to the Washington office in 1989 where he was Assistant Director of Wildlife, Fisheries, and Rare Plants before returning to Alaska as Regional Forester.

Commenting on Janik’s appointment to R10, Chief Jack Ward Thomas said, “Phil has spent his entire career working with integrated resource management issues and conflict resolution.”⁶ The latter seemed to be what forest management had become, attempting to integrate the diverse use of resources into a comprehensive and equitable management system, and resolving the conflicts inherent in the system. In Alaska, management became increasingly a matter relating to integrating wildlife, fisheries, recreation, visitor and subsistence uses with the more traditional timber products industry. Rather than timber-driven, forest management now more carefully balances the multiple, diverse use of resources.

Things had changed, but the greater part of the change, to be sure, had been relatively recent. William J. Holman, who came to the Alaska Region in 1983 as Director of Recreation, recalled that even during his short tenure between 1983 and 1986 (when he retired), Alaska was “still operating like we were in Idaho in the

1960s.” The emphasis was on “getting out the ‘cut’ and feeding the long term contract. Recreation and associated resources were thought to stand in the way of progress and to some extent could limit areas where cutting could take place.” But progress was made in cultural resources inventory, outfitter and guide relations, landscape management, and visitor related services and facilities.⁷ Holman, incidentally, is another of those who imbibed of the Alaska mystique. He remained on Prince of Wales Island where he “hand trolls, serves on many statewide boards, is President of the Prince of Wales Chamber of Commerce, and works part-time for the University of Alaska and Sheldon Jackson College.”⁸

In order to more effectively manage change and to better serve the growing diversity of uses and users of National Forest resources, Region 10 began reorganizing in 1993, much in the manner (and for many of the same reasons, including budgetary problems, and the incentive to achieve greater efficiency) that it initiated the transition to the Resource Management Assistant (RMA) structure in 1970. To be sure, the incentive for reorganization came in part from the mandate of the recently elected Democratic President and Congress to “reinvent” government. Reorganization was directly influenced by impending budget cuts.

Regional Office Reorganization

On February 10, 1993, Mike Barton informed Region 10 employees that Chief Jack Ward Thomas has directed a 25-30% reduction in the Regional Office by Fiscal Year 1995.

On March 3, 1993, President Bill Clinton directed Vice-President Al Gore to lead the efforts of the administration to change the way the United States government performs its work.⁹

In response to the pending RO reductions, and the directives to “reinvent government,” on March 12, Deputy Regional Forester Robert Williams passed the word to RO personnel that the Region would initiate an organizational study headed by Ron Larson, Director of Procurement and Property. Members of the study team included, with Larson as Chair:

Fred Norbury, RO, Director of Planning, Programming and Budgeting
Mary Cummins, RO, Director of Information Resources Management
Alan Aitken, RO, Team Leader for Timber Sales

Preparation

Gail Kimbell, Stikine Area Forest Supervisor
Robert Latham, Ketchikan Area, Staff Officer for
Recreation, Lands and Minerals
Kathy Foss, RO, Public Affairs, Secretary

Helen Hentemann, Director of Personnel and Civil Rights, an ex-officio member, provided personnel management counsel. The RO Study Team reported to the Regional Leadership Team (RLT: Staff Directors, Forest Supervisors, Deputy Forest Supervisors, Regional Forester, Deputy Regional Forester).¹⁰

Mike Barton issued the formal appointments and announced the organization of the RO Organizational Study Team on March 19. He acknowledged "a high degree of uncertainty regarding the future outlook for the Forest Service. Our goal," he announced, "is to reduce the operational cost of the Alaska Regional Office (RO) by 25 percent (based on the 1992 budget) by September 30, 1995." He anticipated staff reductions of 15-20 percent in RO employees. He established some parameters of the study, such that it incorporate goals, ecosystem management strategy, significant issues and budget trends, technology options, contracting opportunities, and alternatives. Barton promised an open study, with information available to all employees, and to the Washington Office and the public throughout the study.¹¹

The team held its first meeting on April 1 and 2. They identified the data needed, such as organizational charts, budget figures, personnel attrition rates, fixed costs and overhead figures, advice from Regions which had gone through "downsizing," and ideas from R10 employees. The team and administrators agreed that reorganization would affect only the Regional Office, and not the Supervisors and Ranger Districts. Each division of the RO subsequently held staff meetings and discussions on the options for their own division reorganization. Those discussions and suggestions were fed to the RO Study Team. The responses ranged from the very broad (lets economize with better technology) to the specific (a certain program has to be joined with another).¹²

For example, RCWR (Recreation, Cultural and Wilderness Resources) staff advised the reorganization team that savings could be achieved by reducing some services, combining some services (such as tourism with public affairs), and by reducing field work by RO staff, and through the delegation of greater responsibilities to the field. Training and development programs could be jointly staffed by RCWR and other RO person-

nel. In May the team concluded that RCWR was already "minimally staffed to meet current demands as well as emerging issues surrounding the human dimension of ecosystems management."¹³ That concern reflected a distinctive tilt in the present and future focus of the Region, and the team wrestled with ways of preserving the work integrity of RCWR while meeting minimal reduction goals. It became clear very quickly, that reorganization and "downsizing" would not be easily achieved, and could result in lower productivity.

The Regional Leadership Team selected three basic "concepts" for consideration from those developed by the RO study team. One would simply cut 60 positions from the RO staff. A second would reduce staff units to eight directors from the existing twelve and incorporate the functions of the four eliminated under the eight—while cutting approximately 60 positions from the RO staff. A third concept would fold the existing staff under the authority of five directors, while deleting some sixty positions. The RLT advised directors to meet with their employees on the problem and respond by June 8.¹⁴ Those responses again ranged from the broad to the specific, but focused now on the three concepts proffered by the study team.

On June 11, the RO team reviewed its progress. The goal was to reduce RO spending by 25 percent. The goal could be reached by (whenever possible) achieving cost reductions through greater efficiencies, and by transferring more work (along with the money and personnel) to the field. The RO could not delegate its leadership and oversight responsibilities, but selected areas of technical expertise and some field services currently managed by the RO could be transferred. Although the study team did not have time to evaluate the proposals by its September deadline, the team posed "a number of items that appeared to have considerable potential for reducing RO spending." One proposal had to do with more tightly coordinating and integrating the three Tongass area units; another would consider sharing certain services and positions with Region 6 (the Pacific Northwest Region headquartered in Portland), another would establish Regional Technical Centers away from the RO that might better serve the field, and another would simply consider moving the Regional Office to Portland. The study team rejected the latter as "not a viable option," but did suggest that a combination of the Alaska and Pacific Northwest Region (R10 and R6) would be more practical.¹⁵ Whatever the conclusion, it was clear that the Region was in the throes of an intense self-study and somewhat painful reorganization. The study team focused first on two organizational

realignments. One would fold the existing twelve directorates into five, and the other into eight. The team examined each option, creating a paper organization for both the five and eight directorate systems, projected the assignment of the various work divisions to each directorate, and then evaluated the financial impact of the reorganization on the budget relative to the 1992 fiscal year. Meanwhile, it kept R10 personnel and the Washington office informed in part through the mechanism of a regular "Ups and Downs" memo that reviewed the status of things, commented on relevant activities in Washington (e.g. "Vice President Gore is expected to make an announcement about results from his studies for reinventing the government around September 7;") and ("Secretary Espy is expected to announce changes in USDA around mid-September."), and solicited employee responses.¹⁶

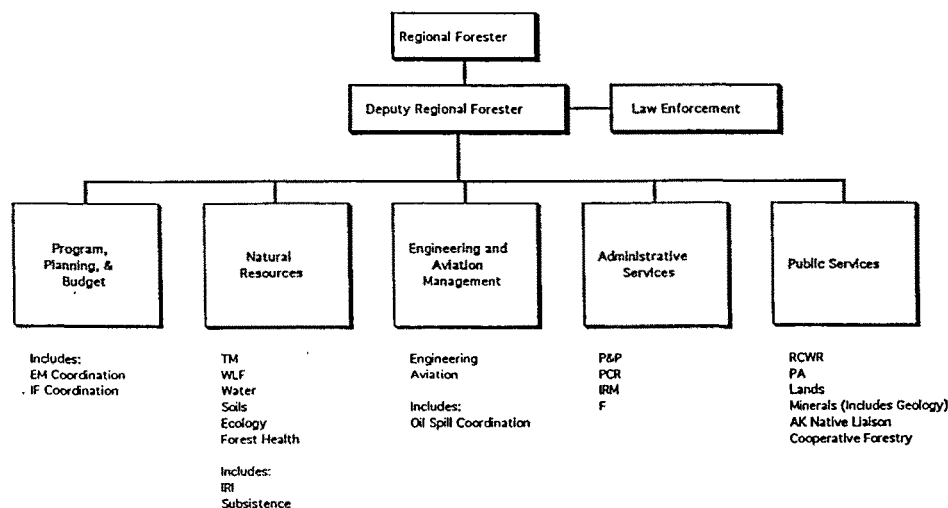
The RO study team presented its first formal report on July 27. The team advised reducing the number of staff directors from twelve to five, with concurrent staff reductions, and "changes in the way we currently do business." This has been a difficult task, the team stressed, "laced with many emotions. However, in these changing times we hope you recognize it was necessary for us to present our best shot."¹⁷

The recommendations addressed both "downsizing," which is intended to reduce total spending, and "reorganization," which seeks to make the work more efficient. If approved (by the RLT and the Chief), the new Regional Organization would have the following structure: The team also diagrammed the composition of each of

the proposed five new directorates, and examined the implications of that structure. The new Natural Resources Staff, for example, would combine the work done by Timber (TM) and Wildlife and Fisheries (WLF) [and Subsistence], and portions of the work done by the Land, Minerals and Water staff and the State and Private Forestry staff. It would have strong responsibility for ecosystem management and the GIS-related Integrated Resource Inventory. Recreation and Wilderness; Land, Minerals and Water; Public Affairs; Community Services; and Native Liaison would be associated under the new director of Public Service. The Directors of Engineering and Aviation, and Administrative Services would provide the support systems for Region operations. The proposed organization offered a number of "ups," and some "downs." One of the latter had to do with integrating the functional projects rather than have them independently drive the budget process, meaning that budgets might be set by staff interests rather than by field requests.¹⁸

Regional Forester Mike Barton and his deputy, Bob Williams, offered revisions to the team report—prominently that there be six rather than five directorates, with State and Private Forestry being retained as an independent unit. Barton and Williams also wanted to have a public affairs assistant reporting directly to the Regional Forester, and a consolidated budget coordination process. With these revisions the team report was resubmitted for review on September 3, with a final report and plan to go to Washington for approval in October. Meanwhile, at the Chief's "Family Meeting" on September 10, Secretary of Agriculture Espy com-

Table XI.1
Target Organization



mented that “the FS (Forest Service) is held forth as an example of what’s wrong” in government, and is therefore a model for reinvention. Chief Dale Robertson said:

We must face the reality that there are too many layers in the organization; operating costs are too high; we have a tremendous number of skills; we MUST reduce the duplication between levels. There is a huge technical expertise clustered around each line officer.¹⁹

The Forest Service would be the laboratory for the reinvention of government.

The Alaska part of the Forest Service had in many respects already reinvented itself. Mike Barton explained in the October *Sourdough Notes* that the process began during the past two fiscal years as the Region “worked hard to reduce the portion of the Regional budget that is used in the Regional Office.” But it became clear that a major restructuring would be required. That reorganization was further necessitated by the changing work priorities within the Region, with new emphases on “ecosystem management, financial management, international forestry, rural community support, wildlife and fish habitat management and others.” The reorganization team, Barton noted, took

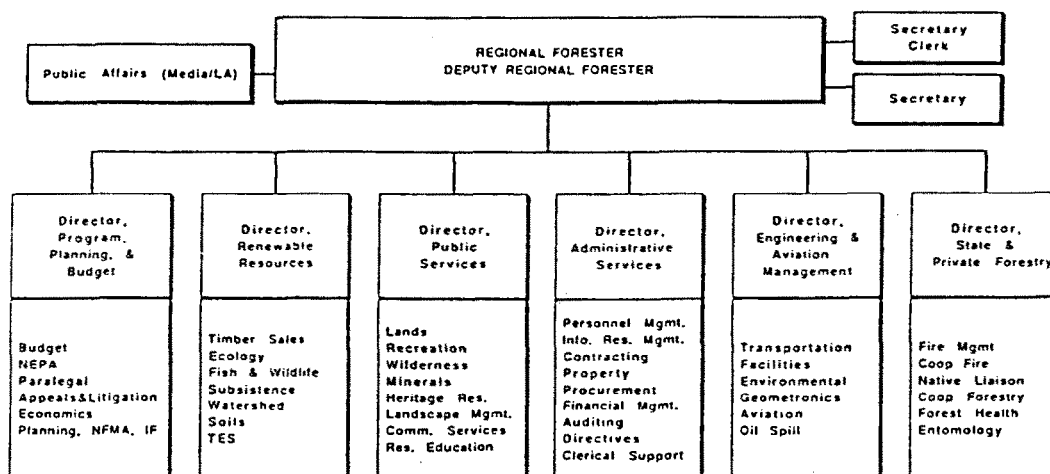
on a big job and worked with deliberation and precision.²⁰ The final organizational scheme, with six directorates, is that described below:

The entire reorganization plan went to the Chief’s office for approval in October 1993, with October 1995 as the target date to have “everything in place.”²¹ It was not to be as anticipated. But, there would be in the interim pending approval by the Chief’s office, significant changes and “downsizing” in the Region.

In February 1994, Congress approved a \$25,000 “Voluntary Separation Initiative” an early retirement incentive that was allocated among the agencies of the federal government. Many in the Forest Service, and in Alaska, took advantage of the opportunity, thus providing significant downsizing and cost reductions. Three members of the RO reorganization team were among those who separated. Although not under the VSI program, Regional Forester Mike Barton also retired from the Forest Service. By April, 1994, twenty-two RO personnel had separated, and a total of forty-four from the Region.²² These actions reconfirmed the downsizing and reorganization in progress in the Alaska Region.

Phil Janik, who replaced Barton, elected to press ahead

Table XI.2
Proposed Organization/Alaska Regional Office



with the reorganization plan. "The phrase, 'the only constant is change,' seems to have been written especially about our world here in the Alaska Region," commented Janik.²³ He began a new informal review within the Region, and exchanged ideas and information with the Chief's Office. In September, he delivered a revised R10 reorganization proposal to Chief Jack Ward Thomas (who replaced Dale Robertson). The revised proposal added a timber staff director to the six directorates previously proposed. (See Table XI.3). The new organization plan also proposed sharing administration and research with Region 6, headquartered in Portland. Janik stressed that R10s present situation "requires an organizational adjustment." Not unlike the situation which led to the RMA reorganization in 1970, the Region was in the very real position in 1994 of having to do more with less. Voluntary separations had greatly reduced personnel, particularly at the higher administrative levels. In addition, as a part of downsizing, the Region had replaced very few positions opened by attrition. There was, Janik said, "an urgent need" to implement the reorganization proposal. "Our proposal will allow us to continue operating as a Region with full services, and yet, very importantly, keeps us in a smaller configuration allowing us to flex with any reinvention decision."²⁴

As of December 1994 the Region had yet to receive the Chief's approval for its proposed reorganization. What the Region did receive, as did the Forest Service System, was a document from the Chief prescribing a proposed "Forest Service Reinvention:"

We believe significant change is needed in the way we do business in order to perform our duties in a manner that enhances the confidence and trust of the public. Because of the extraordinary challenges faced by our Agency over the past several years, we have deliberately taken a comprehensive and thorough approach to Forest Service reinvention. Our goal is to improve customer service and build the public's trust through improved efficiency and demonstrated competence.²⁵

The proposed reinvention coming from the Chief's Office would dramatically alter the R10 organization. The plan would realign a number of the Regional offices, and consolidate the existing nine into seven. One of the consolidations would merge the Alaska Region and the Pacific Northwest Region and place the administrative offices of the new combined Region in Portland.²⁶ The reorganization would wholly eliminate the Alaska Region!

While Alaskans might have quarrels with the Alaska Region of the USDA Forest Service, those were family quarrels. Alaskans sprung to the defense of Region 10. Governor Tony Knowles wrote Chief Jack Ward Thomas:

We strongly object to and oppose this suggestion. Given the size of the national forests in Alaska relative to the rest of the U.S. national forests, a regional office in Alaska is clearly more than appropriate. As a matter of fact, a far more reasonable approach to efficiency would be to consider moving the Portland office to Alaska.²⁷

The *Anchorage Times* concurred, and mentioned that "fortunately" such a proposal would have to be approved in Congress where Representative Don Young (R-AK) chaired the key House committee [Public Lands and Natural Resources] and his Republican colleagues in the Senate had similar authority. Don Young labeled the proposal a "bureaucratic mistake," and Senator Frank Murkowski (R-AK) said, "it makes no sense for bureaucrats to make decisions on the future of the Tongass and Chugach [National Forests] from 2,000 miles away."²⁸

"This is the exact opposite of what the federal government should be doing," Young said. "They should be working to bring government closer to the people, not centralizing the management decisions in some far-off region." Senator Ted Stevens (R-AK) thought that the home of the largest National Forests should also be home to "top Forest Service management." The Alaska Forest Association (representing the timber industry) agreed, as did the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council (representing environmental and other local concerns).²⁹ Region 10 found it very refreshing to have the diverse, multi-faceted constituency and users of Alaska National Forest resources united in their support. It bode well for the future.

It did not, of course, solve the immediate organizational problems. The Region proceeded to "downsize" and achieved a defacto reorganization resembling the proposal which Phil Janik sent to the Chief's Office in September. By January 1995, the twelve Directorates effectively, but unofficially, had been folded into eight. While many of the niceties of the reorganization had not been achieved the basic restructuring was accomplished. The reorganization of 1995, and the downsizing, evoked comparison to the not too distant past. In 1970, if the Region had an organizational problem, it was that it was severely understaffed to accomplish the tasks imposed by Alaska statehood,

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FOREST SERVICE
ALASKA REGION (REGION 10)

Table XI.3
PROPOSED ORGANIZATION

September 29, 1994

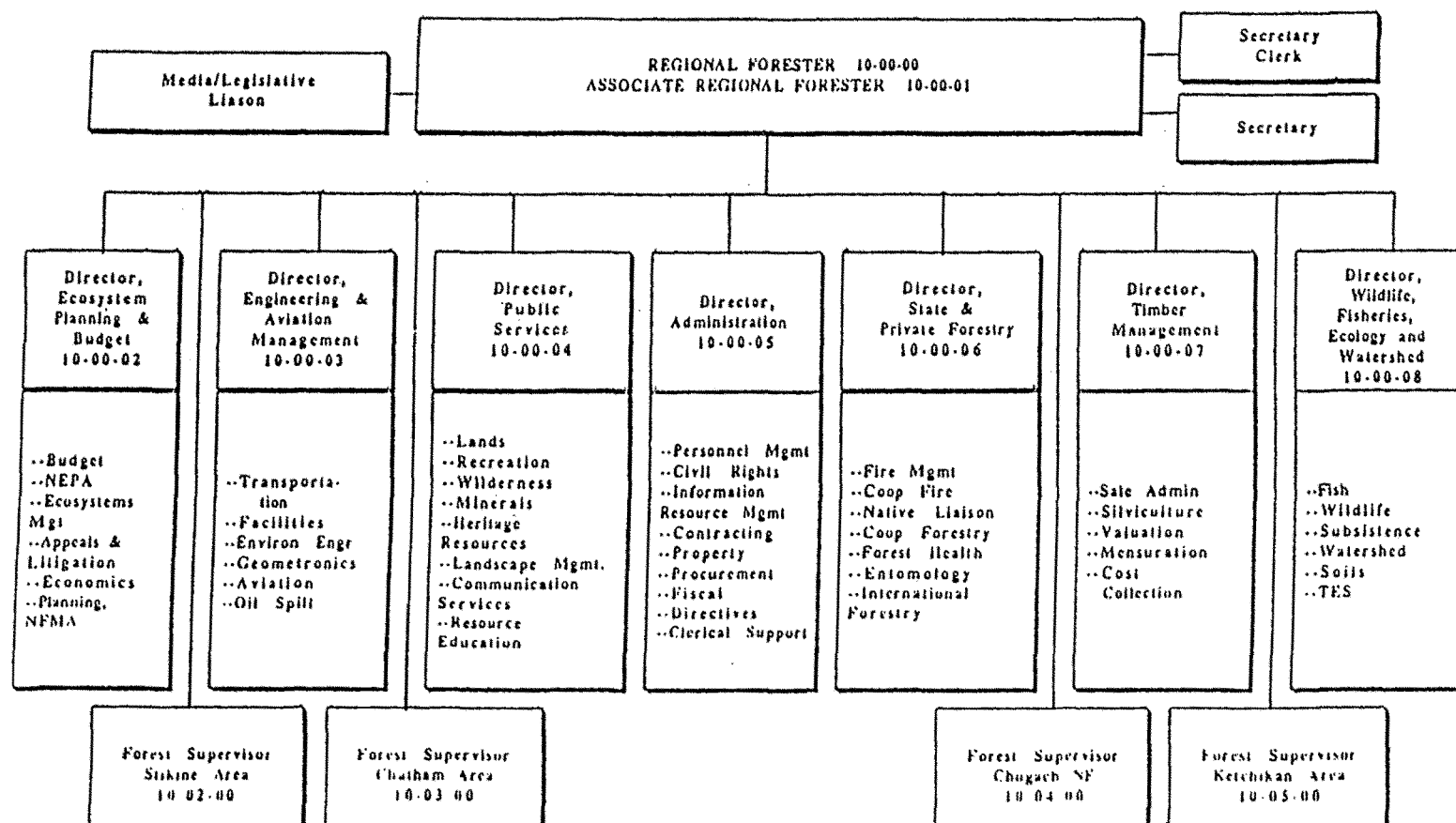
RECOMMENDED:

Theresa J. Smith
Regional Forester

APPROVED:

Deputy Chief for Administration

DATE:



Multiple-Use, the National Forest Management Act, NEPA and ANCSA. The reorganization accomplished under the Resource Management Assistant structure sought to use the relatively meager resources of the Region more efficiently. Over the next two decades the Region developed a sufficient personnel base to meet its operational objectives. Almost immediately, by 1990, it began to face the prospect of losing personnel due to budget constraints, and sought again to economize in its operations through organizing more efficiently. To be sure, the mission of the Alaska Region had changed markedly in those two decades between 1970 and 1990. It had passed from a "care taker" role to a "public service" role. Both related to the basic mission of the Forest Service as being "Caring for the land and serving the people." But times had changed—again. Even as the reorganization initiated in 1993 proceeded to a logical conclusion that process too was diverted by yet new directives and incentives, these coming, after 1995, from a newly elected and reconstituted Republican dominated Congress.

All of this restructuring and downsizing, of course, proceeded even as the Region continued to wrestle with its "real" operational tasks—managing the land, dealing with the APC contract and mill closure, meeting the production requirements of the Ketchikan Pulp Company contract, developing independent timber sales, expanding its recreational and tourist services, meeting the subsistence obligations imposed by ANILCA, completing the Tongass and Chugach Forest Plan revisions, and the Integrated Resources Inventory, and managing the Region's Wilderness Areas—and generally meeting the increasing demands for a variety of special uses on National Forest lands.

Issues in Alaska Forestry for the Nineties

Wilderness

One thing that did not exist in 1970 were designated Wilderness areas in Alaska. The Wilderness Act of 1964 established 54 wilderness areas to be administered by the Forest Service. None of these were in Alaska, despite the historic protestations of Bob Marshall, a forester and explorer who was intensely attracted to "blank spaces on the map." Marshall, a founder of the Wilderness Society, explored the Brooks Range of Alaska in 1937. In 1938 he advised a Congressional Committee that:

Alaska is unique among all recreational areas belonging to the United States because Alaska is yet largely a wilderness. In the name of a balanced use of American

resources, let's keep northern Alaska largely wilderness.³⁰ Marshall believed that "In Alaska the dominant development policies of the United States should be balanced by a policy of preservation."³¹

In the minds of most Americans as recent as 1970, Alaska, northern, central, or southeastern, remained essentially wilderness. There was no real need to legislate a thing that already was. The truth was, of course, that Alaska was changing, and most Alaskans and wilderness advocates were keenly aware of those changes. Wilderness, even in Alaska, was becoming a precious resource.

Under the stimulus of the Wilderness Act (and the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968), Region 10 began to examine large tracts as potential wilderness areas. By 1969, under legislative authority, the Alaska Region had withdrawn 3,029,066 acres, or 14.6 percent, of the Tongass and Chugach National Forests for National Monuments and Wildlife Refuges, or classified the acreage as Natural or Scenic Areas. That meant that even then forty-five percent of all scenic area acreage on National Forest lands in the United States were in Alaska. By June 30, 1970, the Alaska Region was to have identified those specific areas suitable for wilderness under the terms of the Wilderness Act. Although such areas were not identified (probably because the R10 docket was full with statehood, ANCSA, independent timber sales, and a meager staff), the Region did initiate two wilderness study proposals comprising approximately 2.5 million acres. Nevertheless, there were in the ensuing years, no actions by Congress designating Alaska wilderness.³²

In 1974 the Chugach National Forest Multiple-Use Plan assigned "scenic" values to 102,000 acres in the Harriman Fiord area, and another 52,000 acres associated with the Columbia Glacier. In 1979 the Carter Administration favored wilderness designation on 696,000 acres of the Nellie Juan area, and on 847,000 acres in the College Fiord area.³³ Whatever the previous constraints had been on designating wilderness areas in Alaska, they were overcome in 1980.

On December 2, 1980, as part of ANILCA, Congress designated 43 areas, totaling 56.4 million acres, as wilderness in Alaska. Of these, 14 areas, comprising 5.5 million acres, were on the Tongass National Forest. Two areas on the Tongass—Admiralty Island Wilderness and Misty Fiords Wilderness—were independently declared National Monuments. The two recommended areas on the Chugach National Forest—Nellie Juan and College Fiord—were listed, but not dedicated as wilderness.³⁴

In October 1985 the Chugach National Forest prepared a *Final Environmental Impact Statement and Wilderness Study Report for the Chugach National Forest and the Nellie Juan-College Fiord Wilderness Study Area*, with a recommendation of 1,703,000 acres for wilderness.³⁵ As of 1995, that recommendation had still not been acted on, but other Alaska wilderness areas were created by the Tongass Timber Reform Act.

On November 28, 1990, TTRA created 5 designated wilderness areas and added acreage to the Kootznoowoo Wilderness. No wilderness areas, however, were designated on the Chugach National Forest, owing in part to its growing complexion as a recreation and tourism forest and its proximity to the large Anchorage populations. Those lands, however, would be managed so as to preserve their wilderness character.³⁶ Nevertheless, by 1990, the Alaska Region moved from having no designated wilderness, to be the Region not only with the most land in wilderness, but having almost one-fourth of all designated wilderness within the National Forest System—a total of 5.7 million acres: To be sure, Alaska Wilderness was wilderness with a

difference.

Wilderness activities permitted on the National Forests in Alaska are not the same as those permitted in wilderness areas in other Forest Service regions. In passing ANILCA, Congress reaffirmed and expanded upon the purposes of wilderness as stated in the 1964 Wilderness Act, but granted eight specific exceptions to the prohibitions of the Wilderness Act for any wilderness organized on the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. These were:

Subsistence policy. Section 811 ensured reasonable access for subsistence uses. Local residents engaged in subsistence activities could use surface transportation means they were accustomed to, including snowmobiles, motorboats.

Special access. Snowmobiles, motorboats, airplanes and non-motorized surface transportation methods for traditional activities were allowed in wilderness areas under Section 1110(a).

Inholding access. State and private lands, includ-

Table XI.3
Alaska Wilderness Areas

Wilderness Area Name	Administrative Unit Name(s)	Site in Acres (Federal ONLY)	Acres Imbolding	Public Law Number	Date(s) of Designation
Geographic State: Alaska					
Chuck River	Tongass NF	74,278	692	101-626	11/28/90
Coronation Island	Tongass NF	19,232		96-487	12/20/80
Endicott River	Tongass NF	98,729		96-487	12/20/80
Karta River	Tongass NF	39,889	5	101-626	11/28/90
Kootznoowoo (Admiralty Island)	Tongass NF	955,921	32,129	96-487	12/20/80
Kootznoowoo (Young Lake Addition)	Tongass NF			101-626	11/28/90
Kuiu	Tongass NF	60,581		101-626	11/28/90
Naurelle Islands	Tongass NF	4,937		96-487	12/20/80
Misty Fjords	Tongass NF	2,142,243	664	96-487	12/20/80
Petersburg Creek-Duncan					
Salt Chuch	Tongass NF	46,777	72	96-487	12/20/80
Pleasant/Lesusrier/Inian Islands	Tongass NF	23,096	55	101-626	11/28/90
Russell Fjord	Tongass NF	348,701		96-487	12/20/80
South Baranof	Tongass NF	319,568		96-487	12/20/80
South Etolin	Tongass NF	83,371		101-626	11/28/90
South Prince of Wales	Tongass NF	90,996	22	96-487	12/20/80
Stikine-LeConte	Tongass NF	448,8412		96-487	12/20/80
Tebenkof Bay	Tongass NF	66,839		96-487	12/20/80
Tracy Arm-Fords Terror	Tongass NF	653,179		96-487	12/20/80
Warren Island	Tongass NF	11,181		96-487	12/20/80
West Chichagof-Yakobi	Tongass NF	264,747	782	96-487	12/20/80
Total Forest Service acres in Alaska		5,753,106	35,531		

ing mining claims, within wilderness areas on Alaska national forests would be made accessible, according to Section 1110(b) of ANILCA.

Navigation aids and facilities. Section 1310(a) provided for access to areas such as air and water navigation aids, communication sites, national defense facilities, and facilities for weather, climate and fisheries research and monitoring. Section 1310(b) provided for establishment, operation and maintenance of new facilities of this nature.

Aquaculture. Fisheries research and permanent improvements and facilities for this research are permitted by Section 1315(b).

Public use cabins. Section 1315(c) permitted the continuing use of such cabins and Section 1315(d) permitted construction and maintenance of a few additional cabins.

Beach log salvage. Logs could be salvaged from shorelines under Section 1315(f) of ANILCA.

Temporary hunting and fishing facilities. Section 1316(a) allowed the continuation of facilities for taking fish which were already in place and for new ones to be constructed, but Section 1316(b) allowed denial of new permits if they were detrimental to the "wilderness character" of the new wilderness areas.

However, since the TLMP was completed prior to enactment of ANILCA there had to be specific management direction for each separate wilderness area. Also, the use of helicopters by the public was limited to those uses which had taken place prior to passage of ANILCA and the use of chainsaws (other than for subsistence uses) and generators by cabin permittees was to be phased out.³⁷

The Tongass Wilderness areas have been classified by ecosystem types, noted below, which provide a sense of the character of the Alaska Wilderness:

Ecosystem Type	Percent of Area
Productive Forest	30.0
Non Productive Forest	26.1
Non Forest	22.1
Rock	11.1
Alpine	3.0
Ice/Snow	7.6 ³⁸

The impact of wilderness on Alaska thus far has been

largely to help satisfy environmental concerns, and in a more aesthetic way to buttress and reinforce the Alaska mystique. "In Alaska alone," Bob Marshall thought, "can the emotional value of the frontier be preserved."³⁹

Wilderness designations have also reduced the harvestable timber base of the Tongass, and as discussed previously that has affected the management of the long-term timber contracts in particular, and to some extent, independent timber sales. Wilderness also complements, to an extent, the visitor industries, recreation, wildlife, fish, and subsistence uses of National Forest resources.

Recreation and National Forest Visitors

Outdoor recreationists and visitors to Alaska are almost necessarily users of National Forest resources. As Alaska populations grow and as visitors to Alaska increase in numbers, the use of and visits to the National Forests show a corresponding, if not disproportionate increase. For the seven years between 1987 and 1994 the number of tourists and visitors to Alaska rose by approximately 5% each year. During the first nine months of 1994, the Alaska Tourism Marketing Council estimated that 1.1 million visitors came—the second consecutive year in which visitors exceeded 1 million. "Cheap air and cruise ship fares, promotional efforts, low gasoline prices, and the aging of America explain much of this growth."⁴⁰ While tourism and visitor industries may be expected to be cyclical, sustained growth has developed in part, and is dependent upon a developing infrastructure to serve, accommodate, educate and entice visitors. The Forest Service is a part of this infrastructure.

Directly and indirectly the Forest Service plays a significant role in the developing visitor industries. Indirectly, the National Forests provide the scenery, the aura, the mystique, and the learning experience that attract tourism and visitation. The ship board interpretation program sponsored by the Forest Service has been extended from the Alaska Marine Highway system to regular cruise lines. Forest Service interpreters also meet cruise passengers in Juneau, Ketchikan, Sitka and other points. The program, which began in 1969, has had a very positive impact on Alaska's developing visitor industries.

To a very great extent the Forest Service licenses, through the granting of special use permits, a large number of the outfitters and guides who take visitors on photographing, hiking, fishing, hunting, or camping expeditions in the National Forests. This provides access, structure and safety, and a greater measure of

credibility and commercial viability for the outfitter and guide. There are, to be sure, conflicts and tensions within the system. There is competition for territory, disagreement with controls or regulations, conflict between those who might photograph or observe wild game and those who might hunt the game for sport. And there are nominal costs attached to the permitting process. The number of approved outfitters and guides has increased substantially in the past few decades, and is anticipated to grow more rapidly in the future. Guides and independent visitors utilize the Region's public cabins in their recreational uses. The commercial guide, outfitter, and charter operations are an important part of the visitor industry infrastructure and are usually closely associated with National Forest resource use.

A very visible and tangible way in which the Forest Service serves the visitor industry is in the design, construction, and staffing of visitor information centers and exhibits. Centers such as those in Fairbanks, Tok, and Anchorage are jointly funded and staffed by the Forest Service, BLM, and the National Park Service and are part of a system known as "Alaska Public Land Information Centers." The Petersburg Visitor Center is a joint operation between the Forest Service and the Petersburg Chamber of Commerce and is located in the historic District Ranger's Office. Other centers such as the Mendenhall Glacier Visitor Center near Juneau, and the Begich, Boggs Visitor Center in Portage Valley (two of the most "visited" locations in all of Alaska) are operated by Region 10. The Forest Service is in the process of expanding the facilities of the Mendenhall Glacier Visitor Center. Built to accommodate a few thousand visitors in the 1960s, the Center in the 1990s had over 200,000 visitors annually. After an initial proposal for a 9,000 square foot addition to the present 2,700 square foot facility, public hearings and input resulted in rescheduling for a 5,500 foot expansion. The expansion will include a larger auditorium and more exhibit area. Architects are preparing three different designs for the building, and those are to be reviewed by the public before a final selection and construction begins.⁴¹

At the Begich, Boggs Center Chugach National Forest interpreters conduct ice worm safaris, selected informational programs, film presentations, and guided hikes on the Byron Glacier Trail or the Williwaw National Recreation Trail (depending on the weather and season). Among the most popular programs are the ice worm safaris usually conducted every Tuesday and Friday evening during the summer season. During the summer camping season, Chugach interpreters such as

John Toomer present skits and informational programs. Toomer, for example, introduced campers at the Quartz Creek and Trail River Campgrounds to "York" the mountain man in July 1993. Other interpreters gave campfire programs on topics ranging from butterflies, to halibut sausage, to owl pellets, to bats, and how to be a "Wildlife Detective." Throughout the Chugach and Tongass National Forests archeologists have helped identify, interpret, and protect historic Native cultural artifacts and sites. John Mattson, an archeologist on the Chugach (now retired), holds that the preservation and interpretation of Native culture and sites is an important element of Alaska recreation and ecotourism. Eco-tourism, he explains, has to do with tourists who want to view the wildlife, the culture, and the scenic beauty of Alaska.⁴²

On June 25, 1993, the Kenaitze Indian Tribe and the Chugach National Forest held a Grand Opening Ceremony for the Kenaitze Indian interpretive site Hchan'lyut, "Beginnings." The site began, as mentioned in earlier chapters, when the Forest Service contacted Kenaitze Tribal Chairperson Clara Swan about unintended damage being caused by fishermen and sportsmen to a valuable cultural site. Swan suggested the area be developed as an interpretive center, rather than attempts being made to preclude the public. The result has been an interpretive site and programs that involve the continuing cooperation and interaction of the Forest Service and tribal groups. At the dedication, Deputy Regional Forester Bob Williams; Chugach Supervisor Bruce Van Zee, and Seward District Ranger Duane Harp viewed the project as the beginning of a new era of cooperation between Natives and the Forest Service both in protecting the cultural heritage of the Native Alaskan, and in educating and informing the public and the visitor.⁴³ Rural Community Assistance Projects, such as that established at Cordova, enable Alaska communities to promote their own cultural interests and to participate in the developing visitor industry.

In 1993, Region 10 awarded \$48,000 grant to the City of Cordova for the construction of a public campsite and a shorebird workshop. Seward received \$32,000 for a Sea Life Center, and additional grants of \$10,100 to establish a crafts outlet (for visitors), and a \$2,800 shellfish hatchery. The Pack Creek bear viewing area has helped solve a potentially dangerous contact between visitors anxious to see bears, and bears not particularly enamored of an intrusive human presence. Other wildlife and scenic viewing platforms and walks have been constructed in many areas of the Chugach and Tongass National Forests. It is the purpose of the Forest Service, Chugach Supervisor Bruce Van Zee

explained, "to encourage visitors to experience the mystique of the Chugach's incomparable beauty...and to provide a diversity of barrier free recreational experiences."⁴⁴ All of this contributes to the infrastructure that makes Alaska more interesting and enticing to the visitor.

On the Ketchikan Area of the Tongass, the Region completed, in cooperation with other Federal agencies, the fourth Alaska Public Lands Information Center. A dockside Southeast Alaska Visitor Center (at Ketchikan), the facility offers Alaska and National Forest visitors a orientation programs, rotating exhibits, an auditorium, learning centers, and a trip planning center. The center officially began service on June 3, 1995.⁴⁵ Hiking and biking have become prime recreation uses on the Chugach—particularly in the Kenai Peninsula southwest of Anchorage, but Forest Service trails are being more trafficked throughout the Region. Trail construction and maintenance are particularly difficult in Alaska. Spring thaws give way to summer rains. Footsteps and the increasingly popular mountain bike traffic leave potential gullies on the wet, soft, spongy forest floor. As Susan Rutherford commented, "We may be leaving behind only footprints, like the conservationists tell us, but we're leaving an awful lot of them. And between horseback riders, mountain bikers and trail runners, we're not always stepping softly." Rutherford, Recreation Staff Officer for the Chugach, arrived on the Forest in 1992 from the Washington Office where she was Trails Program Leader for the Forest Service.⁴⁶ The Chugach's Seward Ranger District boasts some of the most-used trails in the Region. There, Irene Lindquist and Jim Rosauer are Forest Service trails technician who are responsible for the planning, development and maintenance of trails. Recreational trails, Forest Service trails technicians, and Forest Service trail maintenance are important elements in creating the required infrastructure for the use of forest resources by the public.⁴⁷

Jim Franzel, District Ranger on the Chatham Area Sitka Ranger District, describes himself as an avid trout fisherman. He suggests that recreational development has been one of the stronger areas of activity on the district. The Ranger District, he said, has in the past been given more authority and responsibility for devising and implementing recreation programs. That has made those efforts more responsive to local needs and interests. The Ranger has had considerable independence in pursuing one of their main efforts of the 1990s—to build and maintain cabins, viewing platforms, walks, and trails—while timber has largely been directed from the Supervisor's or Regional Office.⁴⁸ The expanding recreational and visitor industries are

perhaps better served by strengthening the autonomy and independence of the Ranger District—a plan which is encompassed in the Region's reorganization and reinvention efforts.

Fishing

Just as Jim Franzel came to Alaska in part because of his interest in sport fishing, so many of the visitors come to Alaska to fish. Alaskans, of course, Native and newcomers, have a rich tradition of commercial and subsistence fishing. The interests of commercial, subsistence, and sports fishermen sometimes clash, but for the most part are sympathetic—that is, they all want to see the fish populations sustained and increased. That is largely believed to be the responsibility of the Forest Service which provides the habitat for much of Alaska's sports and commercial fishing industry. Franzel recalls that many of his early days in the Region were spent on fish enhancement projects as at Irish Creek, Dean Creek, Slippery Creek, Mitchell Creek, and on projects in the Wrangell District.⁴⁹

To an undetermined extent, the sustainment and encouragement of fish populations, both anadromous and fresh water, seems to be beyond the powers of the Forest Service or any other agency or devices. There sometimes seems to be some natural rhythm to fish populations responding perhaps to the El Nino winds and broader patterns of weather and ocean currents. High seas fishing harvests are beyond the control of the state and the Forest Service. There are, of course, explicit things the Forest Service and the State can do and have done to promote better fishing for sports and commercial harvesters. Laws, regulations, limits and seasons, of course, are critical. The State has primary responsibility for regulating game and fish harvests on the National Forests. State and Forest Service personnel work closely in habitat improvement projects.

In 1993 the largest salmon catch in history was harvested in Alaska, and the following year, 1994, the second largest catch brought in higher receipts because of higher prices. The Upper Cook Inlet sockeye salmon catch exceeded the Alaska Department of Fish and Game projections by 1 million fish in 1994, although the catch was still down 0.8 million from 1993.⁵⁰ While fishing and fish processing continue to be major elements of revenue, generally exceeding that from tourism and timber, particularly in Southeast Alaska, the industry is under increasing competition from farmed salmon located largely in southeast Asia and South America. The critical edge in maintaining the Alaska fishing industry is the sustainment of adequate fish populations.

The Forest Service, the State, and private (often tax-free) enterprises have combined to create, or independently have created a substantial fish hatchery program throughout the Alaska coastal regions. The hatcheries have undoubtedly provided an important increment in salmon populations. The Forest Service, since the 1960s, sponsored stream clearing and improvement projects, and constructed fish ladders and channels to help salmon in their spawning. Fish habitat development has also been a learning process, in that biologists have discovered that "too easy" access to spawning streams may over time weaken the genetic strain of the returning fish. Similarly, clearing streams of debris has been determined to be detrimental.⁵¹ An important, essential, and growing aspect of fisheries management in the 1990s is the cooperation between the Forest Service, the State Department of Fish and Game, and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. International cooperation and enforcement, particularly between the U.S. and Canada, is also critical.

The FY 1994 Congressional Appropriations Act directed the Forest Service to study fish habitats on the Tongass to determine the effectiveness of current habitat protection measures, and to determine if additional protection is needed for anadromous fish habitat. The report on salmon and steelhead habitat protection was prepared by the Alaska Region and the Pacific Northwest Research Station and submitted to Congress in April, 1995. Studies indicated that while protection of fish habitats had improved since passage of the Tongass Timber Reform Act, additional protection was needed. The report recommended more comprehensive watershed analyses, fish habitat and fish community inventory, stream classification, and closer monitoring of habitat. The report also recommended that the TLMP revision consider more protection for headwater areas, wider streamside buffers, and clarification as to the maximum and acceptable fish habitat protection measures. The report underscored, as Regional Forester Janik emphasized, the extreme importance of the watersheds and fish resources to Alaska.⁵²

Wildlife & Fisheries and Subsistence: A Special Situation in Alaska

The management and utilization of the wildlife and fisheries resource in Alaska occupies a special standing in Alaska that it does not have in the "lower forty-eight" states. A 1988 survey revealed that about 85 percent of Alaska households get at least some of their food by hunting and fishing. Some households consumed very little from subsistence taking—one to 80 pounds per

year—and some used very much—more than 500 pounds per member. Subsistence is a vital concern to Alaska residents, native and non-native, and to commercial fishermen, guides, outfitters, and sportsmen. It has become, according to Phil Janik, "a very contentious subject. It is particularly important to the people of Alaska who live in rural, remote communities and depend in large part for their sustenance of living off the land."⁵³ This issue has, however, come to pit Native interests against non-Native rural populations and urban sports groups, and has created conflicts between state and federal authorities, while antagonizing some commercial fishing and hunting interests on the one side, and arousing environmental, preservation concerns on the other. It has become, for the 1990s, one of the Forest Service's major challenges.

This subsistence use of Alaska lands—hunting, fishing and gathering—has been important to Alaska Natives for thousands of years. It is interwoven into their community life:

... subsistence uses of fish, game, and wild plants continue to be of vital importance to the Alutiq communities.... Subsistence harvests provide large amounts of a variety of nutritious foods throughout the year. Subsistence activities structure much of the annual cycle of activities in the communities. Harvesting, processing, and sharing of subsistence resources unite people, households, families, and communities in networks of mutual support, and provide the context in which young people learn survival skills and cultural values. They also define each community's relationship to the lands and waters around them. ...it is important to understand each of these aspects of subsistence as part of an overall economic, social and cultural system.⁵⁴

As Rosita Worl, a member of the Board of Directors of Sealaska Corporation, and a faculty member of the University of Alaska explained to the Society of American Foresters meeting in Anchorage in September 1994, the environmental and cultural values and the religious precepts of the Tlingit people (and other Alaskan Native groups) "have been conceptually recast and redefined in the theoretical construct that has been labeled 'subsistence.'"⁵⁵

In deliberations leading to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the U.S. Congress acknowledged the importance of subsistence hunting and fishing to Alaska natives, but provided no specific protection. By the late 1970s, more direct action was needed to protect subsistence activities in Alaska.⁵⁶ The discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay, the large influx of

newcomers, commercial developments, state and ANCSA land transfers, all threatened the customary and traditional free use of Alaska subsistence resources by Natives, and by other residents. The state of Alaska approved legislation recognizing the time-honored tradition of the Natives, and the custom of most residents: taking game by hunting (for food and also for handicrafts), furs by trapping, berries and other things from the land and fish from the waters. The state acknowledged the right of subsistence to extend to Alaska Natives and rural residents. The State of Alaska began to monitor and administer subsistence activities on state and private lands.

In 1980, Title VIII of ANILCA authorized the State of Alaska to regulate subsistence uses on Federal public lands, but the "Alaska Supreme Court ruled that the rural residency preference required by Federal law violated the Alaska Constitution," and the State, as late as 1995, has been unable to bring its regulatory framework for subsistence into conformity with the requirements of ANILCA and the specifications of the Court.

As ANILCA came under increasing scrutiny after the mid-1980s, and debates began over revisions that would lead to the Tongass Timber Reform Act, subsistence became a matter of increasing concern among Natives, and other Alaska residents. In 1989 Regional Forester Barton wrote to Robert W. Loescher, Senior Vice President of Sealaska Corporation and a Tlingit, answering some questions that had been posed by Loescher concerning the Tongass Land Management Plan revision process. Barton wrote, "... consistent with the purpose for which the national Forests are managed ... management of the Tongass is to cause the least impact possible on subsistence." He did inform Mr. Loescher that subsistence was not the first consideration for potential uses on National Forest system lands in Alaska, but he assured Loescher that local community lifestyles were an integral part of the Tongass Land Management Plan revision.⁵⁷

Subsistence received substantial discussion in the *Tongass Land Management Plan Revision Draft Environmental Impact Statement*, issued in June 1990. The report delineated the particular roles of the State of Alaska and of the Forest Service in the management of subsistence, and identified subsistence resources available from the forest. There are a diversity of wildlife, fish, marine mammals and plants for the taking. Firewood and green timber (used for smoking game and fish) are prominent uses by rural communities. Just as the cooperative role of state and Forest Service

authorities in the maintenance of subsistence became firm, in July 1990, under court order, the Federal Government ordered Federal authorities to resume the management of subsistence activities on all Federal lands in the state.⁵⁸

Five Federal agencies—the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the lead agency; the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the USDA Forest Service are involved in subsistence management. A Federal Subsistence Board oversees the program. That Board included, in 1990: Walter Steiglitz, Chairman and Regional Director, U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service; Michael Barton, Regional Forester, Alaska Region, USDA Forest Service; George Walters, Acting Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs; J. P. Tangen, Regional Solicitor, U. S. Dept. of the Interior; Edward Spang, State Director, Bureau of Land Management; and Boyd Evison, Regional Director, National Park Service.⁵⁹

Federal administrators established ten Subsistence Regional Advisory Councils, and made appointments to those councils beginning in August, 1993. Each council was to have a Regional Coordinator, but as of 1993, only five of the coordinators were in place.⁶⁰ Even while federal structures were being created to manage subsistence on federal lands, the State of Alaska continued to regulate state hunting and fishing activities on those same lands, interfacing with, and at times seeming to supersede subsistence administration, although subsistence taking received priority over regular sports fish and game taking. Needless to say, the line in Alaska, particularly in rural Alaska between sports hunting and fishing and subsistence hunting and fishing were thin lines.

At the initial meeting of the Federal Subsistence Board, at Anchorage, Alaska, on September 26, 1990, the Board announced that it would hold 50 to 60 public meetings across the State to solicit public comments on issues relating to subsistence on Federal lands in Alaska. The Board also immediately scheduled seven subsistence hunts—for goats, moose, or caribou—to be managed by the federal land management agencies in Alaska.⁶¹

The *Exxon Valdez* oil spill caused not only an environmental crisis, but a subsistence crisis in those affected areas. Elenore McMullen, Chief of the native village of Port Graham, Alaska, in a 1993 Congressional Hearing related to the Exxon Valdez disaster, vividly described how the people of her isolated village have survived off the land, "the subsistence way of life," and "the cultural

mainstay of my people.” She reiterated that the oil spill caused severe damage to subsistence harvests in 1989, and recovery has been slow, much to the detriment and injury of her people and their way of life.⁶² Alaska fishermen concurred in the appraisal and pursued successful court actions against Exxon Corporation for damages. Concurrently, pressures began to develop to transfer authority over subsistence fishing rights from the state to federal authority.

In February 1994, during the Fiscal Year 1995 budget hearing for the Department of the Interior and the Forest Service, Alaska Senator Murkowski asked Interior Secretary Babbitt and Chief Thomas about the status of subsistence, and the issue over the administration of fishing rights. What action would the agencies take in the event subsistence fishing became a responsibility of the federal government? Both Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Chief Jack Ward Thomas responded that there was nothing in the budget to manage or enforce subsistence fisheries should the court rule in the Federal government’s favor. However, Babbitt stated that in such an event, the agencies would be before Congress with a budget request.⁶³

Since 1990, planning and organizing for subsistence have required an enormous outlay of energy and expense by the Forest Service and other federal land management agencies in Alaska. The *Federal Register* of May 29, 1992, contained the final regulations for subsistence management.⁶⁴ The May 29, 1992 final rule created ten subsistence resource regions. For wildlife hunting, the State was divided into 26 geographic areas or game management units. Several units covered parts of the two National Forests. For subsistence fisheries the State was divided into thirteen areas and for subsistence shellfish taking there were five areas. The Cook Inlet area was closed for shellfish taking. In addition to subsistence hunting and fishing, gathering was addressed—as of wood, berries, mushrooms and fibers. Wood gathering, hunting, and fishing were specifically allowed on all areas of the forest, including wilderness areas, monument wilderness areas, and nonwilderness national monuments—again in contravention to practice and regulations elsewhere.⁶⁵

Subsistence consumptive uses receive priority among forest resource uses in the *Proposed Revised Forest Plan* for the Tongass National Forest. Subsistence is also addressed comprehensively in the *Supplement to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement* for the Tongass National Forest. For example, the report examined the characteristics of deer harvests on a community by community basis. Whereas the 1990

DEIS analyzed subsistence uses on the basis of 51 geozones, the Forest Service has begun to use the 191 Alaska Department of Fish and Game wildlife Analysis Areas as the base of subsistence analysis, perhaps looking forward to the day when the State may resume responsibility for subsistence administration on Federal lands.⁶⁶

It is that uncertain future that has clouded subsistence administration by the Forest Service. In May 1994, Governor Walter J. Hickel announced plans to call a special session of the legislature to seek a solution to the subsistence problem in the form of an amendment to the Alaska Constitution, to be voted on in the General Election in November.⁶⁷ That amendment did not come to be, and in January 1995, Governor Tony Knowles replaced Walter J. Hickel who had declined to run for reelection. What the future would bring, was still very uncertain. It was certain, however, that subsistence as a critical management issue would be with the Region for some time. It was also certain that timber harvests, and prominently the long-term timber contract, would remain a preeminent concern of the Region, particularly on the Ketchikan Area of the Tongass National Forest—at least until 2004, when the Ketchikan Pulp Company contract expired.

Timber Management and Timber Harvests in the Nineties Under A Competitive Timber Sale Market

The Tongass Timber Reform Act triggered actions by both the Alaska Pulp Company and the Ketchikan Pulp Company which threatened the timber program on the Tongass National Forest. In November 1992, Ketchikan Pulp Company claimed that the Tongass Timber Reform Act constituted a breach of its long-term timber contract. In early December, Alaska Pulp Company wrote Region 10 challenging the Forest Service’s interpretation and implementation of parts of the Act. Al Aitken, in timber management at the Regional Office, responded that the Tongass Timber Reform Act was unilaterally passed by Congress and was non-negotiable. Aitken further stated that the General Accounting Office had reviewed changes to the contract and found the Forest Service to be in compliance with the Act. Regional Forester Barton said that any changes in the application of the contract under the law must be submitted for Congressional review.⁶⁸

APC’s dissatisfaction was reported in the *Ketchikan Daily News* on December 10. APC’s spokesman claimed that because of the Act log prices had increased, while the number and quality of logs available had been reduced. Gary Lidholm, Assistant Director of Public Affairs, responded that the new requirements

were mandated by the Tongass Timber Reform Act. In March 1993, the *Sitka Daily Sentinel* announced that APC planned to file suit against the Forest Service over its interpretation of the Act. The Company also mailed about 300 letters to business and civic leaders explaining that satisfactory arrangements with the Forest Service for obtaining timber under its long-term contract had not been obtained. Ketchikan Pulp Company was reported to also be considering court action.⁶⁹

APC filed suit in the District Court in June. The complaint objected to Forest Service pricing policy for timber sold from the Tongass National Forest, and the policy of counting utility logs toward the total volume of the timber sale. Gary Morrison, Supervisor of the Chatham Area of the Tongass, reported to the *Sitka Daily Sentinel* that the Forest Service was not to blame for the problems APC was having with its timber supplies, and that relations between APC and the Forest Service had always been "very professional." But, the Forest Service did offer to put additional timber on the market by approving a plan to log 120 million board feet on Kuiu Island. When environmentalists, led by SEACC, threatened to seek an injunction to halt the proposed logging, the Forest Service delayed the cut. But on July 1, APC announced that it would close its pulp mill on September 30, 1993.⁷⁰

Almost concurrently, Ketchikan Pulp Company announced a temporary closure beginning August 1, explaining that it needed 200 million board feet of timber in Fiscal Year 1994, but that the Forest Service would only make 150 million board feet available. Conservationists blamed the shutdown on the weak world pulp market. Regional Forester Barton wrote APC on September 24, that the mill closure "will lead to APC breaching a material provision of the contract which is the requirement to construct and operate a pulp mill."⁷¹ In January 1994, Barton notified APC that it was in breach of the contract and that it should "show cause" why the contract should not be terminated. Finally, in mid-April, Barton approved the termination of the contract.⁷²

Appropriately, the Region had begun studying the "what if" some years before the APC contract was terminated. In December 1991 the Irland Group, a consulting firm in Augusta, Maine, issued a report commissioned by the Region on the adequacy of the Tongass Timber Supply following the elimination of the long-term timber sale contracts. The Group believed that one alternative (Alternative D) would meet the long-term contract harvest cut and also sustain an independent sales program, whereas another alternative (Alternative P)

could result in a shortfall of roughly 60 million board feet. However, the Group suggested that a reduction in sales volume under modified contracts should be considered. In addition, the Group criticized the constraints placed upon timber harvest as being "multiplicative," instead of additive.⁷³

The Forest Service's response to the Irland report was to reaffirm its long-standing commitment to independent timber sales. The Region envisioned reducing total contract volumes, stratifying the timber supply into economic components, and seeking supplemental funding to make less attractive timber stands more marketable. While the long-term timber contracts seemed to facilitate below-cost timber sales, small independent sales could be even less cost efficient due to the very high costs in Alaska of providing road access to timber cut areas. The costs became greater as the economically more desirable timber sales areas were either harvested, transferred to the state or to Native Corporations, or closed to harvest through wilderness or other environmental legislation. A shrinking timber base increased the cost of timber harvest for long-term or independent contractors. The Region also considered accelerating harvest schedules, temporarily departing from a sustained yield goal, designating additional (but often more marginal) land for timber production, and exporting timber to the rest of the country.⁷⁴

Following Regional Forester Barton's April 14, 1994, letter to Alaska Pulp Corporation (APC) informing the corporation that the long-term timber sale contract would be terminated, the Alaska Region raised its independent sales by 71 million board feet of timber available for bidding by independent operators, to raise the total independent sales offerings from 28 to 99 million board feet for FY 1994.⁷⁵ This represented a significant increase in independent sale offerings for the fiscal year.

Part of the timber offered was in the area formerly part of APC's long-term contract, including a sale of 24 million board feet on northern Kuiu Island announced in October 1994. Receipts from timber sales in FY 1994 more than doubled from those of FY 1993. This increase was reflected more by increases in the bid stumpage prices rather than an increase in the amount of timber sold.⁷⁶

Following the APC closure there were expectations within the Region that Ketchikan Pulp Company, as well as independents, would begin to consume some of the timber formerly harvested by APC, and would thus

restore some jobs and market stability. However, wildlife management considerations already had produced changes to independent timber offerings and revision of the long-term contract with Ketchikan Pulp Company. Some timber sale projects had been rescheduled. From industry's point of view, in the 1990s (despite rising market prices for timber) the future for sustained timber harvest from the National Forests was gloomy. That view was reinforced by the rising concerns voiced by environmental, fishing, hunting, visitor industry, and state Fish and Game representatives.

However, in late Fall 1994 the prospect that independent sales might offset the losses incurred by the closure of the APC pulp mill was considerably dimmed when APC's sawmill, located in Wrangell, announced a temporary winter closure. APC announced on November 30, 1994, that the closure would be "for an indefinite period." The result was a layoff of more than 200 employees. Alaska Pulp Company blamed the Forest Service for the closure because of its not "putting up enough timber for sale to keep the blades running." One factor entering into the company's decision to change the Wrangell sawmill closing from temporary to indefinite was that the Forest Service "proposed setting aside an additional 540,000 acres in the [Tongass National] forest as conservation land." That would further deplete the allowable timber base.⁷⁷ A buy out of the mill by Sealaska Corporation failed to materialize. Sealaska expressed "concerns over the timber supply from the Tongass National Forest."⁷⁸ Thus, by the 1990s, as never before, the declining timber base on the Tongass began to generate very real market consequences.

The more immediate factor behind the Wrangell mill closure, however, appears to have been current rather than anticipated market conditions. APC's 50-year contract timber was wholly dedicated to the pulp mill in Sitka. Wood for the Wrangell sawmill operations had to come from "independent" sales, and no 50-year contract wood could be diverted to it. The Tongass offered 130 MMBF of timber in independent sales in 1994. APC did not bid on any independent timber sales in 1994 that might have kept the Wrangell sawmill in operation in following years. APC had bid and won sales during Fiscal Years 1991 and 1992.⁷⁹ Thus, the argument often presented in the media that the Forest Service did not make enough timber available to the mill is inaccurate. Indeed, some thought the Forest Service had interpreted the Tongass Timber Reform Act too broadly.

A Southeast Alaska Conservation Council (SEACC)

report released in June 1992, charged that the Forest Service had failed to live up to its obligations under the Tongass Timber Reform Act. "Congress gave the Forest Service clear direction to pull back from its role as a timber advocate and seek to truly balance Tongass management," said John Sisk, SEACC executive director. "Instead, over the past year the agency actually took steps to accelerate their timber program." SEACC believed that logging continued to dominate Forest Service policy.⁸⁰

SEACC spokespersons, with Alaska Fish and Game officials, believed that the TTRA-mandated stream protection buffer specifications required in timber harvest areas were not being met. The Forest Service acknowledged a responsibility to meet those requirements, but pointed to the technical problems involved in measuring buffer zones, and in identifying anadromous streams and tributaries.⁸¹ The uncertainties, controversies and confusion regarding the buffer zones did affect timber harvest decisions by independents, the long-term contractors, and the Forest Service.

Steve Kallick, a Juneau attorney and member of the SEACC board, believed that most of the concerns about timber harvests, stream protection, and wildlife protection came from local folks, not from "urban special-interest groups that selfishly view the national forests as nothing but a large park." Rather, he said, "In reality, Alaska loggers' most effective critics have been their own neighbors in the woods - commercial fishermen, hunters, tour guides, small business owners and Alaska Natives." For example, a coalition of Southeast groups joined in appealing the environmental statement approving a proposed five-year timber sale on Chichagof Island. The cities of Angoon and Kake, the False Island-Kook Lake Council, Angoon Tribal Government, several hunting lodges and environmental groups appealed. "They said the agency ignored the needs of subsistence users, sport hunters and commercial recreation guides in its evaluation of the timber sale's impacts."⁸² Irrespective of the outcome of the appeal, the timber industry viewed these actions and sentiments (and others like them) as a threat to the future viability of the industry insofar as dependence on National Forest timber sales were concerned.

Similarly, in late 1992 through the early part of 1993, public allegations that the Forest Service had "suppressed" an in-service wildlife study which supported yet further reductions in the commercial timber base, contributed to the unease of the timber industry. A study by Forest Service biologists warned that "several species of wildlife could disappear from parts of

Alaska's Tongass National Forest unless more old-growth timber stands are protected from logging." The report derived from the 1976 National Forest Management Act's requirement that the Forest Service preserve "viable" wildlife populations in each forest. The report concluded that 11 species, including brown bears, goshawks, martens and boreal owls, need blocks of old-growth eco-systems - up to 80,000 acres in several areas of the forest - to survive.⁸³

According to news stories in the *Juneau Empire* and most prominently in the December 27 *Anchorage Daily News*, Forest Service leaders allegedly rejected the report and "ordered the team's leader not to release it." The reality was that the Tongass Land Management Plan (TLMP) Revision Interdisciplinary Team delayed any publications or reports that might not be consistent with the management standards for old growth forests included in the Draft Environmental Impact Statement of the revised TLMP, until an on-the-ground review had proved the viability of the management plan. An Interagency Viability Committee (including the Forest Service and Alaska Department of Fish and Game) was at the time evaluating TLMP revision management standards. A Viability Steering Committee, chaired by Jack Capp, and including Jere Christner, Jim McKibben and Bob Vaught were in turn reviewing the work of the Viability Committee and its recommendations. In September 1991, Lowell Suring became chairman of the Interagency Viability Committee.⁸⁴

Over the next six months, among its other activities, the Viability Committee produced a TLMP Conservation Strategy, which included recommendations relating to the brown bear, Queen Charlotte goshawks and gray wolves, among other wildlife. Jack Capp's Viability Steering Committee directed Suring not to publish the Conservation Strategy while work of the Interagency Viability Committee, and the TLMP revision continued. The States News Service subsequently requested drafts of the Conservation Strategy reports under the Freedom of Information Act. In meetings with Suring, Capp explained that the Viability Committee's Conservation Strategy did not conform to the TLMP Revision Final Environmental Impact Statement, and that the Viability Committee's efforts lacked "credibility and objectivity." Capp directed Suring not to make public presentations on the Conservation Strategy until the Record of Decision was signed for the TLMP Revision., but then in September 1992, did authorize presentations at a Prince William Sound workshop at Cordova, and another at Vernon, British Columbia.⁸⁵

Meanwhile, Suring requested transfer to the Chugach

National Forest, where much of his work and many of his interests were located. The press reported that Suring resigned from the Tongass and obtained a transfer to the Chugach because of "the Forest Service's treatment of the report." The *Anchorage Daily News* said that state biologists supported the Conservation Strategy report and suggested that by the time logging ends (under the long-term contract) in 2004, there will be a "major reduction of biological diversity" in roughly 20 percent of the forested areas of Southeast Alaska. The *Anchorage Daily News* identified the Boreal owl, Southeast brown bear, Prince of Wales Island river otter, Queen Charlotte goshawk and a variety of other species as "at risk."⁸⁶

Throughout the work, while there may have been disagreements as to a conservation strategy between the Viability Committee and the Forest Service, Suring, who headed the Viability Committee, worked in concert—not in conflict—with the Forest Service and the Viability Committee. His move to the Chugach from the Tongass had no relation to alleged "suppression" of Committee reports. Rather the case illustrates the pressures and public scrutiny under which the Forest Service in Alaska, and elsewhere, must work. It should be noted that the controversy arose in the context of the "spotted owl" controversy in the Pacific Northwest wherein court actions had suspended timber harvest on thousands of acres of National Forest land. Federal land managers, including the Forest Service, were being confronted on a national level by environmental and wildlife advocates seeking greater protection and habitat preservation, while the traditional role of providing for the public use of diverse forest resources—including timber—was sustained. These were difficult, and sometimes confusing times.

There were, to be sure, many anomalies in the debate over timber harvest versus wildlife preservation. The problem sometimes involved communications and public relations as well as issues. One Alaskan trapper, Curley Rathbone, wrote the editor of the *Wrangell Sentinel* wondering about how Forest Service biologists derived their game count. The Forest Service report, he said, indicates that the Frosty Bay area only supports 12 and a half marten, "yet I take about 60 marten a year there with two dozen traps in three weeks time. Plus turning loose all females and small males that I know will make it. I also take around 50 mink at the same time with a dozen and a half traps." He wondered about the 2,400 deer population estimate, because he rarely saw deer tracks, and thought there were many more than the 30-35 bears reported, and he wondered why there was no mention of the mink, otter, and goats

that were rather abundant.⁸⁷ His comments, perhaps, reflected the Forest Service's interest in stronger on-the-ground inventory and experience before committing to a conservation strategy.

More recently, a State program to reduce wolf populations by hunting and trapping in order to encourage the increase of caribou and reindeer has been suspended by Governor Knowles because of bad publicity in the media (particularly a nationally broadcast television presentation) and because of doubts about its ethics and its effectiveness (held by many State and Forest Service wildlife biologists). By extrapolation in the media and the public mind the "wolf problem" becomes a Forest Service problem because the National Forests are part of the wolf's habitat. The "tiny, mysterious marbled murrelet" has also created problems in wildlife protection and management. The *Juneau Empire* described murrelets as "tiny sea birds with white and brown colored feathers, webbed feet and small wings. They can swim, fly, walk on land and nest in trees." The birds are suspected to be threatened or endangered. But they are so elusive that it is difficult to obtain viable counts, but there do seem to be fewer of them in Alaskan and Pacific Northwest waters. But even if they are declining or endangered—what does one do to protect or rehabilitate them? It is difficult to develop habitat enhancement, because no one is really certain where they live. The bird is alleged to nest in coastal old-growth forests, but (according to the local press) only one nest has ever been found in Southeast Alaska. Environmentalists, however, have suggested that the Forest Service shut down logging on timber lands up to 50 miles inland from the sea—which would effectively eliminate commercial logging in Alaska National Forests.⁸⁸

At the Thorne Bay community, the center of KPC harvest activities where "life revolves around logging," Jim Gould, the Forest Service timber sale administrative assistant noted that in 1991 the Thorne Bay loggers harvested over 200 million board feet of timber. The timber sorting yard at Thorne Bay is "noisy and industrial, awash in mud and diesel fumes" but an anomaly is that every summer a dozen Sitka deer meander into the yard, bed down and give birth to their young.⁸⁹

Prince of Wales Island is usually considered "the heart of Alaska's timber industry." On the one hand, the 2,231-square mile island contains some of the least explored forests in the state, and supports large populations of wolves and black bears and Sitka deer. Yet this island is unlike any other wilderness in Alaska. Some 4,600 people live spread out among 17 villages and

hamlets, many accessible by the 1,000 miles of winding gravel road.

On the one hand a network of logging roads connects clear-cuts with "friendly logging towns" yet the same roads "reach toward small communities and outposts where people strive to live out the Alaska Bush life - a life they think is endangered by the extensive logging of the island's rain forest."⁹⁰

Much of Alaska's controversy over logging rages over logging on Prince of Wales Island. The *Anchorage Daily News* staff writer doing the extensive report on Prince of Wales issues concluded: "In the end, it comes down to a clash of values so contradictory its almost as though the timber industry, the Forest Service and the environmentalists are looking at completely different forests." Paul McIntosh, the Forest Service information officer for the Ketchikan Area, commented that, "We like to think of ourselves as right in the middle."⁹¹ The middle, of course, is not an easy place to be. But it fits both Forest Service traditions and contemporary policy.

Mining

Mining, particularly for precious metals such as gold and silver, is one of Alaska's most storied enterprises. As so with Sam McGee in Robert Service's famous poem, the land of gold casts its spell over miners and prospectors. For much of the past half century mining has declined rather than prospered in Alaska. G. Frank Joklik, President and CEO of Kennecott Corporation, offered a good summary of the history of Alaska mining, and of the difficulties facing the industry, in an address to the Alaska State Chamber of Commerce, meeting in Juneau in December 1992. Kennecott got its start in Alaska, he said, during those "heady" days at the turn of the century, when such as Sam McGee and thousands of other prospectors were fanning out through Alaska in search of gold and silver. Kennecott discovered rich copper deposits above the Kennicott Glacier in the Wrangell Mountains. But by World War I, when the boom was gone, all that was left was Kennecott mines, The A.J. and Treadwell gold and silver mines near Juneau, and placer mines at Nome and Fairbanks. Kennecott closed its operations in the Wrangell Mountains shortly after the outbreak of World War II. "Large scale mining in Alaska slumbered until the 1950s, when the Usibelli coal mine opened near Fairbanks."⁹²

During mineral explorations in the 1950s and 1960s, Kennecott geologists revisited, and rediscovered rich copper deposits on the Ambler belt of the south slope of the Brooks Range, at Ruby Creek, near Kobuk, and in

the nearby Arctic copper-zinc deposit belt. "But a combination of land withdrawals and a low point in the price cycle for metals stalled our efforts. Now those deposits are surrounded by National Parks, Monuments and Refuges so laid out as to make access to the Ambler District next to impossible." In the 1980s, Kennecott began plans to develop mining operations in the Red Dog and Greens Creek deposits. The Greens Creek deposits lay within the Admiralty Island National Monument 18 miles southwest of Juneau, in the Tongass National Forest. Unlike the case of the Quartz Hill molybdenum deposits near Ketchikan, surrounded by the Misty Fjords National Monument, where access was much more restrictive and costs higher, Kennecott, in cooperation with the Forest Service proceeded to develop the Admiralty deposits.⁹³

Kennecott worked closely with officials of the National Forest Service, which manages the area, and with other regulatory agencies to minimize the impact of the development on the pristine area and its wildlife. The mine, which began operating in 1989, is today the largest silver producer in the United States. We believe this project demonstrates that it is possible to develop and operate a major mine responsibly in an environmentally sensitive setting.⁹⁴

The Forest Service would seem to concur that the Greens Creek development has been an exceptional example of environmentally responsible mining development. But for the Greens Creek mine, mining has been virtually at a standstill on the Alaska National Forests. That standstill, Joklik said, may be attributed largely to the "lack of infrastructure, in particular the absence of roads and rail lines," and to the low price of copper, silver, gold and other metals. The costs, "delays and uncertainties surrounding the permitting process create additional barriers." Joklik strongly urged the State to pursue the development of roads and rails to better serve the mining industry. "The key decision for the state is to invest in infrastructure development now, before oil revenues begin to dry up and the state has a financial crisis on its hands." In February 1993, Greens Creek managers announced that the mine, "the largest producer of silver in North America and one of Juneau's largest employers, will close in April because of low silver prices."⁹⁵ Although mining on the National Forests is virtually at a standstill, mining operations are highly responsive to market conditions. Rising metals prices will likely trigger new explorations and developments on National Forest lands. But the Greens Creek operations would seem to argue that mining is compatible with the sustenance of a healthy forest ecosystem. New systems of ecosys-

tem management are improving the ability of the Forest Service to better protect the natural environment while maintaining the production of forest resources.

Ecosystem Management — A New Perspective

Although ecologists are not new to Forest Service research stations they are relatively new to National Forest management. An ecology program on the National Forests of Alaska began in 1981 as part of the Integrated Resource Inventory. In 1985 Regional Forester Barton directed the Chatham Area to integrate the plant association classification system with the soil and watershed inventories. By 1989 there were six ecologists in R10 and they were required to be "generalists and integrators." A prediction of their future role was issued in that year:

Accomplishment of ecosystem management objectives should be viewed as a challenging journey. This journey will take time to fully realize and will require the participation of all resource disciplines. Rewards will be realized as we strive to achieve this goal through better service to the public and their resources.⁹⁶

In 1989 the Forest Service nationally embarked on a new management philosophy called "New Perspectives." It had minimal effect on the management of the National Forests in Alaska, but was a prelude to a system-wide transition to ecosystem management. In June 1992, New Perspectives was officially supplanted by a management philosophy called "Ecosystem Management." That is having a profound effect on Chugach and Tongass National Forest management and is anticipated to become the leading management philosophy in the future, as multiple-use and sustained yield have been in the past. On June 4, 1992, Chief F. Dale Robertson, in a memorandum to Regional Foresters and Station Directors, announced "that the Forest Service is committed to using an ecological approach in the management of the National Forests and Grasslands." In announcing the policy, the Chief stated,

Ecosystem management means using an ecological approach to achieve the multiple-use management of national forests and grasslands by blending the needs of people and the environmental values in such a way that national forests and grasslands represent diverse, healthy, productive, and sustainable ecosystems.⁹⁷

The Chief stressed four basic principles which would apply to this ecosystem management:

Take Care of the Land ...

Take Care of the People and their Cultural Diversity.

Use Resources Wisely and Efficiently to Improve Economic Prosperity

Strive for Balance, Equity, and Harmony Between People and the Land

The Chief asked Regional Foresters and Station Directors to evaluate "their regional situation" and "develop a strategy for implementing the above policy, principles and guidelines" within 90 days.⁹⁸

The Chief's directive included three attachments: 1) "Working guidelines for Ecosystem Management," 2) "Reduce Clearcutting on the National Forests," and 3) a news release entitled "USDA Clearcutting as Standard on National Forests." The Forest Service's policy to reduce clearcutting called for making "greater use of individual tree selection, group selection, green tree retention, shelterwood, seed tree, and other regeneration cutting methods which collectively provide for a more visually pleasing and diverse vegetation appearance on a forest-wide basis." The Chief proposed that clearcutting could be reduced "by as much as 70 percent from FY 1988 levels."⁹⁹ Regional strategies for ecosystem management were to be developed by experiment stations, state and private forestry regions, and National Forest regions.

The Alaska Region made one of its long-term contract sale areas a test for ecosystem management. The *Alaska Pulp Corporation Long-Term Timber Sale Contract, North and East Kuiu Final Environmental Impact Statement, Record of Decision* set aside three units of a timber sale in the Alvin Bay Area as a research study area to be used by the Pacific Northwest Experiment Station to study single-tree, group selection and one or more even-aged regeneration methods under the ecosystem approach. The Regional Forester explained that "The Chief of the Forest Service has recently directed that we give top priority to consideration of ecosystem management in the development of land management proposals."¹⁰⁰

Despite its Forest Service endorsement, the concept of ecosystem management as a guiding management philosophy has been difficult to define. The American Forest and Paper Association's Forest Resources Board approved a statement, "Ecosystem Management: A New Approach to Federal Forest Management and Planning," on November 5, 1993. The AF&PA report

discussed the concept of "Desired Forest Condition," which appears in the text of each National Forest plan. The "desired forest condition:"

... describes a dynamic ecosystem condition, selected for a planning unit, which can be developed and maintained over the long term to: a) provide a range of several stages and natural vegetation types and structures across the landscape that will meet the needs of the known species existing within the ecosystem; b) minimize the risk of occurrence of catastrophic level of destructive natural agents, including insect epidemics or uncontrolled wild fire; c) maintain the health and vigor of the forest cover at a level that will allow it the maximum opportunity to repel the effects of natural disasters, recognizing that a certain level of dead/down wood is essential in a healthy forest ecosystem; and d) ensure the economic health and vigor of local communities, which are, in turn, necessary to sustain the ecosystem.¹⁰¹

The AF&PA cautioned that the new concept of ecosystem management on national forests should not result in an abandonment of the basic principles of National forest management.¹⁰²

In testimony before the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations and the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, February 3, 1994, Chief Thomas explained that ecosystem management was a scientific approach:

The underpinning of good resource management by the Forest Service has been and will be science. In implementing ecosystem management, the use of science in the decision-making process will be enhanced. The contribution of science and scientists to better natural resource management decisions will require continued and strengthened independence of our research program. At the same time, we must develop guidelines for enhanced collaboration between scientists and decision makers without compromising scientists, and the continuous upgrading of the technical skills of our work force ...¹⁰³

The Forest Service incorporated ecosystem management in its reorganization/reinvention processes. The reorganization of the Forest Service was expressed as "Our course to the Future." The course had four top priorities and the first three of them referred to ecosystems: (1) to protect them, (2) to restore them, and (3) to provide multiple benefits for people within the capa-

bilities of the ecosystems. In addition, reinvention required cross-disciplinary teams, constituted to “enhance ecosystem management at local, regional, national, and international scales.”¹⁰⁴

For the reorganization to survive, and ecosystem management to be effective, the Forest Service realized that management and management decisions must be “on the ground.” As former Regional Forester John Sandor commented in a 1994 interview:

... they're finding that actually ecosystem management does require local on-the-ground management. You cannot effectively manage ecosystems by long distance phone or telefax. You really need to be administrators on the ground.¹⁰⁵

Consistent with that premise, part of the thrust of the pending reorganization of the Alaska Region has been to return authority to the District Ranger. Unless the Alaska Region can be managed with local decision-making, it is improbable that ecosystem management would be successful on its National Forests. In general terms, while the Forest Service, through ecosystem management has embraced modern technology and science, it has also endorsed a “back to the basics” approach to Forest Management with the District Ranger having, in the classical Forest Service tradition, on-the-ground presence and authority.

Best Management Practices

A facet of ecosystem management developed in response to the standards of the Clean Water Act is a concept called “Best Management Practices” (BMPs). These practices are those which prevent leaving the soil prone to erosion, clogging streams with woody material, harvesting too close to streams and causing the water temperature to exceed safe levels for fish, and related practices. Best management practices began on all administrative areas on the National Forests in Alaska in 1991. On the Chatham area on the Tongass National Forest, for example, from 1991 to 1993 the Region focused on improving management practices (BMPs) relating to timber harvesting and mining operations. In 1992 a Memorandum of Agreement was entered into by Region 10 and the Alaska State Department of Environmental Conservation, whereby both agencies would annually jointly monitor Forest Service activities related to BMPs. In 1993 the Region concentrated on road-related practices and buffers prescribed by TTRA.¹⁰⁶

Despite Best Management Practices and modern science the Alaska National Forests are subject to the threat of severe timber mortality by disease and insects.

In 1993, nearly 800,000 acres of Alaska National Forests were affected by forest insect and disease infestations. Black-headed budworm and yellow-cedar decline were responsible for almost 95 percent of the infestation. The worst epidemic of black-headed budworm in 40 years occurred in 1993.¹⁰⁷

Ecosystem management does not profess to eliminate the “natural hazards” of forest management, but rather to accommodate those hazards within the framework of forest management. Ecosystem management facilitates greater flexibility and responsiveness to changing conditions. Ecosystem management, however, does not respect ownership and political boundaries—which in turn confound ecosystem management. Ecosystem management, however, better enables the forest manager to manage change. Even the best management practices may generate other than the anticipated results.

The ecosystems on the National Forests in Alaska (and elsewhere) are dynamic rather than static. There is no definitive proof that leaving the woody biomass on the Tongass and the Chugach to their own course would result in a better condition than managing their change. The course of nature in the past has been one of non-management, with wildfires and insect and disease infestation allowed to run their course. Leaving the National Forests alone, but still controlling factors of depredation might produce the wrong type of forest. Is it best to preserve the old growth National Forest ecosystems in Alaska or to convert some old growth to new growth?

Can the Chugach and Tongass National Forests be mismanaged?

Sound principles of scientific inquiry are required to provide the evidence to support decisions to manage Alaska's National Forests resources. That work of collecting such data has become a major thrust of Region 10 management. A pervading trend in recent years, according to Ron Dippold, Ecosystem Management Coordinator in the Regional Office has been the use of “agenda science.”¹⁰⁸ By this he means a form of inquiry which either neglects the scientific method or subverts it. Agenda science has become part of the adversarial relationship of diverse users of National Forest resources. An increasingly significant role of the Forest Service is to discover the facts, and to convey the information to legislators, forest resource users, and the general public. Part of that informational process involves the preparation of forest plans, environmental impact statements, cultural studies, biological studies and timber and mining assessments.

Will forest planning on the Chugach and Tongass National Forests reach an equilibrium?

The Tongass Land Management Plan was issued in 1979, amended in 1986, revised in 1990, supplemented in 1991 and, while originally scheduled for completion in 1992, is now scheduled for (not later than) 1996. The Chugach Land Management Plan was issued in 1984, and amended five times. Revision began in 1994. Whether either of these plans is revised, amended or supplemented on a timetable different than the original ten-year period, remains to be seen. With factors brought about by the reinvention of the federal bureaus in the general trend of downsizing, there is likelihood that more frequent changes will occur. The trend has been for the mix of acreage assigned to the multiple uses to change when revisions, amendments or supplements occur. Planning, and revisions of the plans, are a constant, and a strategic part of National Forest management. There are other constants in the process of managing change.

The "Whole Result"

When Phil Janik became Regional Forester on May 4, 1994, he sent a letter, entitled "Arrival and Expectations," to personnel in the region. He listed several points he believed were needed in order for the Region to function well. One was acceptance of the idea that "land stewardship is not negotiable." Land stewardship, he believed, was really "where we get to the essence of maintaining sustainability of all resources on the national forests wherever they are." He also considered the conservation ethic to be a basic foundation of the Forest Service.¹⁰⁹

In September he explained that one of the cornerstones of his management style was a belief in shared leadership. By this he meant that Forest Service people in the Region—staff and work force members alike—needed to maintain an environment of open communications. He meant to add to and expand upon the communication links which had already been built rather than start anew. Janik is concerned about improving the competitive nature of timber marketing now that the long-term contracts have been amended. He is equally concerned about wildlife species subject to listing under the Endangered Species Act. Simply put, he is concerned about both the "livelihood of people and the integrity of the land."¹¹⁰

Change in Alaska has perhaps been more dramatic than in the "lower forty-eight" because of several elements unique to Alaska. Alaska became a state in 1959 and has been growing into statehood while

developing a distinctive regional economy. Beginning with ANCSA, in 1970, Alaska Natives began to develop a corporate and a tribal integrity that in many ways represent a "state within the state." Land transfers from the National Forests, and subsistence uses on the National Forests are important elements of Native rights, and affect forest management.

The long-term timber contracts, which parallel in time the emerging environmental movement, are unique to Alaska National Forests. Fisheries resources have long been a mainstay of the Alaska economy, and nowhere so much so as in Alaska are the National Forests integral to the fisheries. Alaska forest products, pulpwood and now round logs from Native lands, are basic products in Pacific Rim trade. Alaska National Forests function in more of an international context than do those elsewhere. Petroleum—prominently the enormous oil revenues generated from North Slope production have changed the Alaska economy and the relations between the state and the National Forests. Atypically, in Alaska private ownership and private enterprise is relatively inconspicuous. Less than one percent of Alaska's lands are privately owned. Governor Walter J. Hickel correctly refers to Alaska as an "owner state." Thus, relationships between federal land managers, the state, and Native interests, are defined more by political than by capitalist measurements. Those relationships have been uniquely defined by Federal legislation specific to the state and the National Forests of Alaska: ANCSA, ANILCA, and the Tongass Timber Reform Act.

Only within the past three decades have the visitor industries become a major component of the Alaska economy, and a basic element relating to the use of National Forest resources. The Chugach National Forest particularly, has become a recreation-visitor forest. Alaska, the "last frontier," has been more susceptible to change and more vulnerable to change in part simply because for so long there was so little change. That past, that history, has itself been a magnet attracting visitors to the land and to the National Forests, while at the same time heightening the interests and the concerns of those both within Alaska and without who would preserve the wilderness and frontier ways. To be sure, the changes have been tempered, conditioned, and shaped by the underlying mystique of the land, the people, and the culture of Alaska.

Alaska, and certainly the National Forests in Alaska have been subjected to the forces of change more so in the past twenty-five years, than in all of the previous seventy-five years or so of their existence. Despite the

changes, there has been a remarkable consistency in management of the National Forests. As Gifford Pinchot, the nation's first forester explained in 1907, a time at once so distant, and yet so near, the "whole result" is that a National Forest "does not act like a wall built around the public domain, which locks up its lands and resources and stops settlement and industry. What it really does is to take the public domain, with all its resources and most of its laws, and make sure that the best possible use is made of every bit of it." The National Forests "are made for and owned by the people. They should also be managed by the people:"

The officers are paid by the people to act as their agents and to see that all the resources of the Forests are used in the best interest of everyone concerned. What the people as a whole want will be done. To do it is necessary that the people carefully consider and plainly state just what they want and then take a very active part in seeing that they get it."¹¹

The Tongass and Chugach National Forests are the largest and most unique of all of the National Forests. They are, and will continue to serve as a model for the management of forests that are at once the habitat of many diverse peoples, and fish and wildlife. The Alaska National Forests provide exceptional and concurrent opportunities for commercial and sport fishing, tourism and recreation, timber harvest, mining, and subsistence. The idea of a National Forest is that its resources "instead of being used up,...keep coming." The intent and purpose of forest management in the 1990s is as it was when Gifford Pinchot devised "The Use Book" in 1907, to provide multiple uses on a sustained yield basis. While the Alaska Region opens a new frontier in forest management it is a frontier dedicated to the preservation of the basic and original purposes of the National Forests. In that sense forest management has not changed.

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APPENDIX

Bibliographic Information

This history is largely based on primary sources, including Region 10 files and records located at the Federal Records Center-Seattle, Washington; and the National Archives-Anchorage, Alaska.

Active files and records were accessed in the Regional Offices in Juneau, and in each of the Forest and Forest Area offices located in Petersburg, Ketchikan, Sitka, and Anchorage. The authors have compiled an unpublished "Bibliography Relating to the History of the Alaska Region, USDA Forest Service," (February, 1995), 90 pp. which is available in the Region 10 offices.

Primary documents include the *Southeast Alaska Area Guide*, *Tongass Land Management Plan*, *Tongass Land Management Plan Revision*, *Chugach Land Management Plan*, and *Alaska Regional Guide*. Other primary sources include releases of the R10 Public Affairs Office, R10 News bulletin, Congressional Hearings, Alaska newspaper files, and selected Forest and Regional documents and reports.

A particularly useful primary source were interviews with approximately sixty Alaska Region forest managers, and retirees, and with Alaska Governor Walter J. Hickel, and retired Alaska journalist Robert DeArmond. Those are identified below:

Stikine Area: Petersburg, AK

Mike Condon, Planning Officer
Dick Estelle, Recreation Staff Officer
Bob Gerdes, Logging Engineer
Patricia Grantham, Petersburg RD (Ranger)
Gail Kimbell, Stikine Area Supervisor
Mark McCallum, Archaeologist
Dean Weeden, Petersburg RD (Retired)

Ketchikan Area: Ketchikan, AK

David William Arrasmith, Staff Officer/Interdisciplinary
John Carey, Recreation Group Leader
Barbara Johansen, Land Law Examiner
Gary Laver, Lands/Minerals Group Leader
Paul McIntosh, PAO
Larry Meshew, Staff Officer/Ecosystems Management
James Moe, Forest Engineer
Jim Rhodes, Transportation Planner
David Dwight Rittenhouse, Supervisor
Steve Segovia, Ranger, Ketchikan District
John Short, Landscape Architect

Chatham Area: Sitka, AK

Richard C. Baker, (Retired)
Jere Christner, Wildlife/Fisheries
Robert DeArmond, Journalist (Retired)
Harold Donnelly, Engineer

Bill Fieber, Engineer
Jim Franzel, Ranger, Sitka RD
Karen Iwamoto, Archeology
Dale Kanen, Engineer
Ronald Mead Knowles, Administrative Officer
Nels Lawson, Tribal Liason Officer
Gary Morrison, Supervisor
Marybeth Nelson, Recreation
Mike Perensovich, Wildlife & Fisheries (Retired)
Miller Ross, Timber
Gerry Schauwecker, Engineer
Robert Smith, Sitka RD/Ranger (Retired)
Douglas Stockdale, PAO
Howard Ulrich, Skipper/ *Sitka Ranger*
Mike Weber, Planning Team Leader
Ron Welsh, Timber (Retired)
Dick Wilson, Supervisor: Ketchikan and Chatham, RO, Director of Recreation (Retired)

Chugach National Forest, Anchorage:AK

Alice Brook, Administrative Officer
Rob DeVelice, Forest Ecologist
Chuck (Charles) Frey, Land Management Planning
John Mattson, Archeologist (Retired)
Mike Novy, Timber Ecology/Fish & Wildlife Staff Officer
Susan Rutherford, Recreation Staff Officer
Lowell Suring, Wildlife Biologist (Habitat Relationships)
Bruce Van Zee, Supervisor

Regional Offices/Research: Juneau, AK

Mike Barton, Regional Forester (Retired)
Rai Behnert, Regional Planning Coordinator
Kimberly E. Bown, Director, Recreation, Cultural and Wilderness Resources
Paul Brewster, Assistant Director, RCWR
Ron Dippold, Ecosystem Management Coordinator
John Foss, Native Liason
Paul Hennon, Forestry Sciences Laboratory
Norman Howse, Regional Subsistence Program Leader (Retired)
Phil Janik, Regional Forester
Steve Kessler, TLMP Planning Team
Wayne Nicolls, PAO
Vincent Olson, Supervisor, North Tongass (Retired)
Bruce Rene, TLMP Planning Team
Walter A. Sheridan, ANILCA Coordinator
Ken Thompson, Subsistence Field Manager
Robert W. Williams, Deputy Regional Forester

State of Alaska

Walter J. Hickel, Governor

John Sandor, Commissioner, Alaska Department of
Environmental Conservation and Regional For-
ester (Retired)

Frank Seymour, Forest Marketing, State Division
of Economic
Development

Miscellaneous Correspondence from Retirees

Frank C. Arnold, Coeur D'Alene, ID

Howard E. Banta, Tigard, OR

Ferdy Bouchard, Coeur D'Alene, ID

William J. Holman, Craig, AK

Spencer Israelson, Skipper/ *MV Chugach*

John Sandor, Juneau, AK

Ron Welsh, Sitka, AK

Dick Wilson, Sitka, Ak

Other Correspondence

Greg Witter, Director,
Corporate Communications, Alaska Airlines

APPENDIX

Chugach: Forest Supervisors and District Rangers, 1970-1995

Year	Supervisor Chugach NF	Ranger District Anchorage RD	Ranger D. Cordova RD	Ranger D. Kenai RD	Working C. Kodiak
1970	John Crupper	Richard Woodrow	Wally Watts	John Galea	
1971	Bernard Coster	"	"	"	
1972	"	"	"	"	
1973	Richard Woodrow	"	"	Phillip Gum	
1974					
1975				James Dague	Tommy Thompson
1976	Clay Beal	Richard Groff		Kerry Martin	John Reichart
1977	"	"	Vic Baer	"	"
1978	"	"	"	"	"
1979	"	"	"	"	"
1980	"	"	[Anchorage RD] [Seward RD]	(closed)
1981	"	"	Lynn Mitchell	Geoffrey Wilson	
1982	"	Fred Arbogast	"	"	
1983	Dalton DuLac	"	"	"	
1984	"	"	"	"	
1985	"	Kurt Nelson	John Knorr	Dave Barber	
1986	"	"	"	"	
1987	"	"	"	Duane Harp	
1988	"	"	[Girdwood]	"	
1989	"	Mark Madrid	"	"	
1990	Bruce Van Zee	"	"	"	
1991	"	"	John Dorio	"	
1992	"	Calvin Baker	"	"	
1993	"	"	"	"	
1994	"	"	"	"	
1995	Larry Hudson	"	"	"	

North and South Tongass: Supervisors and District Rangers, 1970-1973

<u>Year</u>	<u>Supervisor North T.</u>	<u>Ranger D. Chatham</u>	<u>Ranger D. Sitka</u>	<u>Ranger D. Petersburg</u>	<u>Ranger D. Wrangell</u>
1970	Vincent Olson	Lyle Jack	William Roberts	Jim Hickman	Norman Schoonover
1971	"	"	"	N.Schoonover	Gary McCoy
1972	"	"	"	"	"
1973	"	"	Marcus Petty	"	"

<u>Year</u>	<u>South T.</u>	<u>Craig</u>	<u>Ketchikan</u>	<u>Kasaan (Thorne Bay)</u>
1970	Robert Rehfeld	Robert Fish	Harold Howard	John Standerwick
1971	Richard Wilson	"	"	"
1972	"	"	"	Ronald Prichard
1973	"	John Galazia (Craig Area Ofc)	_____	_____

Chatham Area: Supervisors And District Rangers, 1974-1995

<u>Year</u>	Supervisor	<u>RD Hoonah</u>	<u>RD Juneau</u>	<u>RD Sitka</u>	<u>RD Yakutat</u>	<u>RD Admiralty</u>
1974						
1975						
1976	R. Wilson	x	L. Rentfro	x	Ron Quilliam	x
1977	"	x	Ken Mitchell	x	"	x
1978	"	x	"	x	"	x
1979	"	x	"	x	Bryan Barnett	x
1980	"	x	"	Clyde Ferguson	"	K.J. Metcalf
1981	William Gee	Joe Chiarella	Jack Blackwell	Robert Fish/ Jim Wilson	x	"
1982	"	"	"	"	x	"
1983	"	"	"	Craig Courtwright	x	Helen Castillo
1984	"	(vacant)	"	"	X	"
1985	Kenneth Roberts	Joy Berg	"	"	x	Helen Clough
1986	"	Robert Quilliam	Steve Ambrose	"	x	"
1987	"	"	"	"	x	Ken Mitchell
1988	"	Joe Chiarella	"	"	x	"
1989	Gary Morrison	"	"	Helen Clough	x	"
1990	"	"	Sally Edwards	(vacant)	x	"
1991	"	"	Ken Mitchell	Jim Franzel	Ken Holbrook	Vivian Hoffman
1992	"	"	"	"	Don Stewart	"
1993	"	"	"	"	"	"
1994	"	"	"	"	"	"
1995	"	"	(vacant)	"	Monte Fujishin	"

Stikine Area: Supervisors And District Rangers, 1974 - 1995

<u>Year</u>	<u>Supervisor</u>	<u>Ranger District Petersburg</u>	<u>Ranger District Wrangell</u>	<u>Working Circle Kake</u>
1975				
1976	E.A. Crozer	x	Willard Lowe	Chad Converse
1977	"	x	"	(closed)
1978	"	x	"	
1979	"	x	"	
1980	John Butruille	x	" (wc)	
1981	"J. Hughes	Ned Pence	Keene Kohrt (wc)	
1982	John Hughes	"	" (RD)	
1983	"	"	"	
1984	"	Joe Chiarella	"	
1985	Robert Lynn	"	"	
1986	"	Morris Huffman	"	
1987	"	"	"	
1988	(vacant)	Pete Tennis	"	
1989	Ron Humphrey	"	"	
1990	"	"	"	
1991	"	"	"	
1992	Abigail Kimbell	Patricia Grantham	"	
1993	"	"	"	
1994	"	"	"	
1995	"	" Grantham	"	

Ketchikan Area: Supervisors And District Rangers, 1974-1995

<u>Year</u>	<u>Supervisor</u>	<u>RD Craig</u>	<u>RD Ketchikan</u>	<u>RD Thorne Bay</u>	<u>RD/N.Pr. of Wales</u>	<u>RD Misty Fiords</u>
1974						
1975						
1976	Jim Watson	Gerald Grove	x	"FS Radio"	x	x
1977	"	D.Sawyer/ J. Patterson	x	Fred Ziegler	x	x
1978	"	Jim Lincoln	x	"	x	x
1979	"	"	x	"	x	x
1980	"	" (wc)	x	"	x	J. Kirschenman
1981	"	Ray Brown	Richard Coose	"	Mike Novy	"
1982	"/Win Green	"/L.Jensen	"	Jim Wilson/ (TB & NPW combined)	"	"
1983	"	Lee Jensen	"	Mike Novy		"
1984	"	"	"	"		Dave Barber
1985	"	"	"	Peter Johnston		"
1986	"	"	"	"		Robert Latham
1987	"	Gary Laver	"	"		"
1988	Mike Lunn	"	Logan Lee	"		"
1989	"	"	"	"		"
1990	"	"	"	"		Paul Brewster
1991	David Rittenhouse	Greg Griffith	Steve Segovia	"		"
1992	"	"	"	Anne Archie		(vacant)
1993	"	"	"	"		Don Fisher
1994	"	"	"	"		"
1995	(vacant)	Dale Kanen	James DeHerrera	"		"